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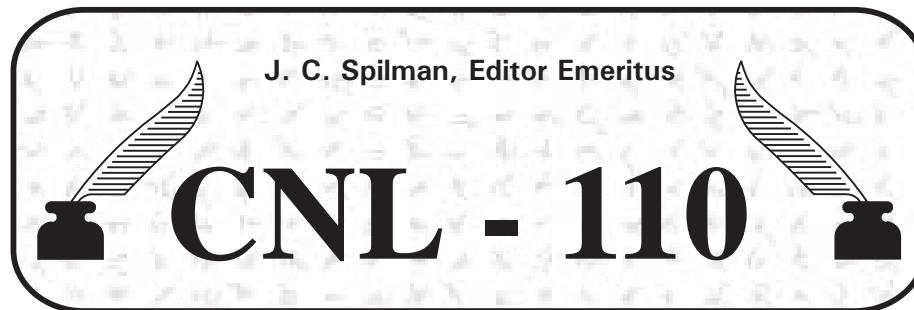
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P. L. Mossman, M.D., Editor

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Editorial
Page 1897

Philip L. Mossman, M.D.
*The Circulation of Irish Coinage
in Pre-Federal America*
Pages 1899 - 1917

Louis Jordan
*The Colonial Coin and Currency
Websites at Notre Dame*
Pages 1919 - 1928

James C. Spilman
*The Research Forum
REVISITED (Part 1)*
Pages 1929 - 1939

Sequential page 1895



EDITORIAL

Welcome to CNL-110! In this issue we feature three articles – all different yet with the same theme: numismatic education. Many years ago Jim Spilman conceived the notion to add a Research Forum (RF) to the *CNL* for the purpose of soliciting questions, exchanging answers, and above all, encouraging everyone to participate in solving each other's numismatic problems – of which there are many. Unfortunately the questions have typically outnumbered the answers and patron participation has not always been forthcoming – particularly with more difficult issues. In his multipart paper, "The Research Forum Revisited," Jim redefines the process and re-explores the inquiries received over the past thirty years in the hope that there will be responses, especially from the younger generation, to some of these old "numismatic chestnuts." These imponderables are not solved overnight, but rather their resolution is an ongoing process – a continuum – wherein little bits of data are accumulated over time until finally merged into a meaningful clarification. Or that is the expectation. The continuation of Jim's paper will be a follow-up on some intriguing questions, which may finally have reached a conclusion – or like the Three Princes of Serendip – may just lead onto something more mysterious. Stay tuned! In the meantime, why not take another look at the previously submitted RF questions and see if there is anything you can add – or, if not – what questions do you have with which others may assist you?

My article, "The Circulation of Irish Coinage in Pre-Federal America," was certainly one of those creatures that grew over time – since April 1981 to be exact. This is when I first read

Eric Newman's paper in *The Numismatist* about the Philadelphia Highway Find, and exclaimed, "my gosh, somebody actually found three Hibernias!" My current essay only scratches the surface of the question – which Irish coppers should be considered North American coinages? I certainly hope that patrons who have any personal experience will add their, excuse the pun, two cents worth. As the credits at the end indicate, this was a group effort, otherwise impossible without the wide based support I received from many individuals. Of interest, this essay tackles two published RF questions in Jim's article, RF-24 and RF-71. At the risk of excessive pedantry may I repeat, numismatic education is a process in which all are invited to participate over the long haul.

But what value is education or accumulated facts [or theory] unless shared? We are all familiar with the many numismatic publications and printed bibliographies. Now that computers and the internet have come of age, we enter the world of web sites where information has assumed an inherent immediacy and updates are available literally at the flick of a switch. This month, we are pleased to introduce the University of Notre Dame web site in a paper by Louis Jordan who discusses the interaction of the printed and electronic word.

Concerning the August issue, CNL-111, we will host a guest editor, Gary Trudgen. For several months, Gary has been consulting with Byron Weston on a formidable work concerning counterfeit halfpence, the featured presentation of that issue. If you haven't recently written a feature article to submit to *CNL*, don't forget we are still anxious to receive your short questions to "Ask the Editors," or if you are bashful, Jim has just reviewed the "Research Forum" where anonymity reigns. If you have a suggestion for the reprint of a classic, ask about our "Gleanings" feature. Now, sit back, relax, put your feet up on the hassock, and enjoy CNL-110!

The Editor

The Circulation of Irish Coinage in Pre-Federal America
by
Philip L. Mossman, M.D.; Hampden, ME

Abstract

The American Colonies were starved for circulating currency and thus it is not unexpected that any and all coins that landed here could have been pressed into service within the local economy. Specie coins, such as the Spanish-American silver, were the work horses of the larger denominational currency while regal and counterfeit halfpence, both English and Irish, comprised the bulk of the copper small change medium. This paper summarizes the history of Irish coppers and their documented recovery from early American settlements. It explores the traditional numismatic claim that Wood's unsuccessful Hibernia coppers and Voce Populi tokens had a wide colonial circulation.

A continuing research project in the study of colonial numismatics has been the investigation into circulation patterns of 17th and 18th century coinages in British North America. This current paper will describe this effort as it pertains to Irish coppers of that period which would have seen service on this continent within the small change medium. There are several ways to approach a subject such as this where we need to reconstruct the available data some two hundred years after the fact. The research methods have included an inventory of coins retrieved from controlled archeological digs at known historic sites, recovery of single coins from old battlefields and settlements with metal detectors, the discovery of hoards, official legal and legislative records, and literary documentation from contemporaneous newspapers, diaries, etc., just to name a few.

Each of the above methods has its own intrinsic level of reliability. Since many types of world coinage could have shown up on this side of the Atlantic carried over by one traveler or another, we could reasonably expect to find just about any coin in the ground that might have slipped through the loose pocket seam of its unfortunate owner. When such an odd piece is then recovered two centuries later, it cannot be interpreted as indicative of a generally circulating currency but merely an accident of little numismatic or historic import, of significance only to the poor fellow who lost it. However, the presence of coins exhumed in numbers from controlled archeological digs carries much more significance – or to quote Noël Hume, “Coins are the archaeologist’s best friend.”¹ Coin recovery by metal detection from old settlements etc. involves a more complicated interpretation since it is uncertain whether the discoveries were actual representative currency of that era and location, or if the coin was just a “lucky piece” dropped decades later during a game of touch football over an abandoned foundation. If a confirmed hoard can be precisely placed in time, it is an archeological bonanza such as the payroll salvaged from the *HMS Feversham*.

From a personal perspective, I've found the Irish copper series very interesting, particularly because of its parallel course with English coppers and their inextricable relationship with British North America. Just from a casual perusal of the *Red Book*, a common source of information for many non-specialists, one immediately notes that three Irish copper coinages are included - the St. Patrick's, Wood's Hibernia series, and the Voce Populi. This paper will critically examine the current state of knowledge about these and other Irish coppers in America and suggest which issues properly belong to the colonial series as a circulating currency.

¹ Ivor Noël Hume, “The Very Caterpillars of This Kingdome: or, Penny Problems in the Private Sector, 1600-1660,” *The Scope of Historical Archaeology* (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 233.

For several years, the study of Irish coppers in America has been one of my pet projects which received a serendipitous boost when I assumed editorship of the *CNL*. At that time, Jim Spilman passed on to me a communication submitted by a patron intended for our "Gleanings" section. This was an excerpt from the 1797 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 3rd edition, which, some two hundred years ago, summarized the then current history of Irish money. It is a fascinating passage which I opted to use as a starting point for this paper in my introduction to the historical context of these coinages.²

24. Ireland

... The harp does not appear upon the Irish coins till the time of Henry VIII. Till the time of this monarch, the English and Irish coins are the same; but the same debasement of the coin which at that time took place in England extended also into Ireland; but in 1601 copper halfpence and farthings were coined also for this kingdom. These circulated in Ireland when James VI. issued his farthing-tokens of copper, the latter being of two sizes, that if they failed in England they might be sent to Ireland as pennies and halfpence. In 1635 a mint was established in Dublin by Charles I. but it was stopped by the Irish massacre, and the many disturbances which followed: since which time the scheme has not been resumed. After the massacre, St. Patrick's halfpence and farthings were coined by the Papists, bearing the legends FLOREAT REX, and on the reverse ECCE GREX; on the farthing QUIESCAT PLEBS. Copper tokens were struck by towns and tradesmen, as in England and Scotland. In 1680, halfpence and farthings were issued by authority, with the harp and date. In 1689, James II. having invaded Ireland, instituted a mint, and coined shillings and half-crowns of all the refuse metal he could find, particularly some brass guns were employed, whence the coinage is commonly called gun-money. Even this metal, however, soon became so scarce, that a diminution in its size is quite apparent from June 1689 to July 1690; as the month of their mintage is marked upon them, this decrease is easily perceived. In March 1690, pennies of mixed lead and tin were issued; and on the 15th of June the same year, crowns of white metal were coined; but these are now very scarce. In 1722, the patent for coining halfpence and farthings was given to William Wood, which excited such discontent in Ireland. From the small size allowed by the patent to these pieces, it was supposed that the patentee would have gained 60,000 1. but as he caused them to be struck of a size still smaller, his gains were estimated at 100,000 1. The coins, however, are of admirable workmanship, and very fine copper, bearing the best portrait of King George I. to be found any where. Sir Isaac Newton, at that time at the head of the mint, declared that they were superior to the English coins in every thing except the size. In 1737 the Irish halfpence and farthings, with the harp on the reverse, were coined, and continue to the present time. In 1760, there was such a scarcity of copper coins, that some private persons applied for leave to coin halfpence, which appeared with a very bad portrait of George II. and the words VOCE POPULI around it. No gold or silver has been coined in Ireland since the massacre of 1641.

The present English-Irish conflict is nothing new and is deeply rooted in past history. Although England had attempted to control Ireland since the reign of Henry II, their authority was not completely established until 1603 after the fall of Ulster.³ There was no Irish copper coinage until 1601 except for some anomalous issues during the 1460s. Although the *Encyclopedia* refers to halfpence and farthings as having appeared in 1601, in fact those coins introduced by Queen

² *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh, 1797), vol. xi, p. 40; the complete text starts with early Irish silver coinages but I've begun this excerpt with the early coppers, reprinted here courtesy of Louis Jordan, University Libraries of Notre Dame.

³ I am indebted to John Ranlett, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus of Irish History at the State University of New York at Potsdam for his critical review and assistance with this essay.

Elizabeth were in halfpenny and penny denominations from the Tower Mint.⁴ (Figure 1) This was at a time when English settlements were first being established in the New World and not unexpectedly, twelve of these coppers have recently been recovered in Jamestown.⁵ This does not infer that these are considered a colonial currency *per se*, but rather current Irish small change that found its way to Virginia with settlers and saw some limited circulation in their communities.

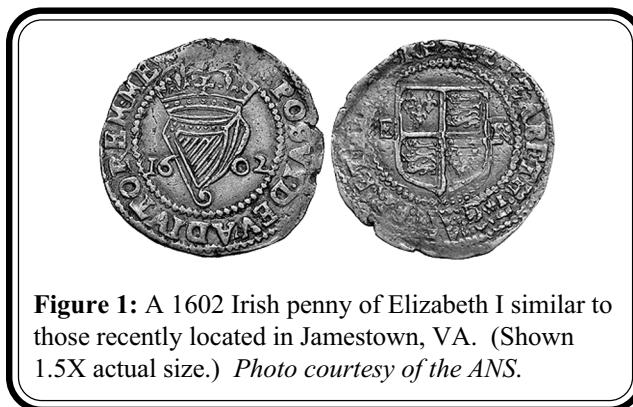


Figure 1: A 1602 Irish penny of Elizabeth I similar to those recently located in Jamestown, VA. (Shown 1.5X actual size.) *Photo courtesy of the ANS.*

The *Encyclopedia* entry goes on to relate: *These [i.e., the Elizabeth coppers, PLM] circulated in Ireland when James VI. issued his farthing-tokens of copper, the latter being of two sizes, that if they failed in England they might be sent to Ireland as pennies and halfpence.* The royal farthing tokens, minted for joint use in England, Wales, and Ireland, were first produced in 1613 under the authority of James VI of Scotland (1567-1625), as mentioned, who had become James I of England in 1603 upon the death of his

cousin, Elizabeth I. The minting of these tokens proceeded until 1644 under a continuum of patents granted to private individuals spanning the reigns of both James I and his son, Charles I. These patents were successively held by Lord Harrington (1613-14), the Duke of Lennox (1614-25), the Duchess of Richmond (1625-34), and finally by Lord Maltravers (1635-44).⁶ These minute coppers, which averaged from 9 to 13 grains, and about 13 to 15 mm. in diameter, were minted at great profit to both the patent holders and the king - a fact which encouraged widespread counterfeiting, a practice particularly rife during the reign of Charles I.⁷ A contemporaneous commentary noted that the patentees "could make out of an ounce of copper, which cost them not a full penny, the quantity of twenty pence in Tokens."⁸ Many of these forgeries, imported from abroad, were of such quality as to be indistinguishable from the genuine. From the beginning, there was a great deal of public opposition to this series and, at the outbreak of the Civil War, minting of these tokens was discontinued by Parliament in 1644. In 1661, Charles II granted a patent to Sir Thomas Armstrong to mint Irish farthings of 20 grains each, considerably heavier than the pre-Civil War series. This patent was soon revoked and to fill the small change void, merchant tokens were minted for several years by private individuals.⁹ As the *Encyclopedia* continues, *Copper tokens were struck by towns and tradesmen, as in England and Scotland.*

These patent farthing tokens, which are dual Irish and English coinages, have a well documented British North American connection since, based on historic and archeological evidence, these tiny coins were carried here by emigrating colonists. Of particular importance is that the first legislative

⁴ H. A. Seaby and Monica Bussell, editors, *British Copper Coins and their Values*; Part I, Regal Coins (London, 1963-64), p. 69; C R. Josset, *Money in Britain* (London, 1962), pp. 61-62.

⁵ Personal communication, Robert Heslip, January 20, 1999.

⁶ C. Wilson Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum 1578-1958* (London, 1970), 2nd ed., pp. 19-82.

⁷ Most of the counterfeits were struck from engraved dies since casting such small flans was impractical. (Peck, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

⁸ Noël Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁹ John Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 367; James Simon, *An Essay Towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins* (Dublin, 1749), repr. 1810, pp. 49-50.

action taken by the Puritan Massachusetts General Court, in regard to currency regulation, was to outlaw these tokens on March 4, 1635.

It is ordered that thereafter farthings shall not pass for current pay. It is likewise ordered, that muskett (sic) balls of a full boare shall pass currantly for a farthing a peece, provided that noe man be compelled to take above 12^d att a tyme of them.¹⁰

Matthew Stickney reported in 1859 the following observation:

Charles I also issued copper farthings, like those of his father, (only Caro. instead of Jaco. and sometimes a rose instead of a harp.) It is probable that the last [i.e. rose farthings, PLM] found currency here to some extent, as I have in my collection a copper farthing of Charles I, of the size of a three cent piece [i.e. silver 3¢ piece, PLM], found by Hardy Phippen, Esq., on his lot on the extreme eastern end of Hardy Street, on the harbour, where he also found four or five pieces of the N.E. Pine Tree pieces ...¹¹

This is an interesting find since the rose farthing type was minted from March 1, 1635/6 until about December 1644, a period after their New England demonetization. It has also been speculated that type 3 rose farthings were either minted at Bristol as necessity money to pay the king's army, or were intended only as an Irish currency.¹²

Besides their Massachusetts connection, these farthing tokens figured prominently in Virginia. In 1636, Governor John Harvey petitioned the king for a supply of them to meet the colony's small change needs. Examples of rose, Lennox, Richmond, and Maltravers varieties have been recovered in Jamestown, York County, and Virginia Beach. More recently two large lots of up to 100 coppers, primarily Richmond and rose types, were recovered from farmers's fields in Yorktown, VA, where they were found buried in ceramic crocks. The oldest member of the cache was a James I (James VI) Lennox-style farthing of 1618-19, and the most recent a 1663 Scottish twopence, thereby establishing the earliest possible date of their concealment. (Figure 2) Most of these coins showed advanced corrosion from the ravages of agricultural activity.¹³ Analysis of



Figure 2: Token farthings common in the Yorktown discovery.

Left: A Richmond farthing of Charles I (7.64 grains), the type minted from 1625 to 1634. These and other farthing tokens were demonetized by the Massachusetts Court in 1635 but continued to see use in Virginia.

Right: A rose farthing of Charles I (20.83 grains) where the Irish harp on the reverse has been replaced with a rose. (Coins shown at 1.5X actual size.) *Photos courtesy of the ANS.*

¹⁰ Joseph B. Felt, *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency* (Boston, 1839), reprint 1968, p. 20.

¹¹ "Notes on American Currency, - No. 1," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, vol. 1 (1859), pp.154-55 n.

¹² Peck, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹³ Personal communication, Thomas Kays, March 12, 1997.

the foregoing would suggest that these Anglo-Irish tokens had some early localized circulation in British North America before the Restoration (i.e. 1660), both in Massachusetts and Virginia. Noël Hume further suggests that these tokens remained current in Virginia even after they had been abandoned in England since they served as small change in anticipation of the new regal issues of Charles II in 1672.¹⁴ Perhaps so few have been recovered since they were so small and fragile, that unless buried under favorable conditions, they might have suffered extensive deterioration so as to render them unrecognizable, or might even have completely disintegrated in the soil.

The peace between the Irish and English during the early 17th century was uneasy, to say the least, constantly strained by religious friction. Irish, particularly from the north, chose to resettle in more hospitable Catholic countries on the Continent, their vacant lands being assumed by transplanted Scots and English. New tensions now developed between these new colonists and the established (Protestant Episcopal) Church of Ireland, situated primarily around Dublin where the English influence was the strongest. In the last year of his reign, James I offered toleration to the Roman Catholic majority and even granted some religious freedom. His successor, Charles I, an ardent High Church Anglican, who claimed to rule by divine right, sought to curry more favor with the Irish and granted further concessions. This liberality came to a halt when political power passed to the Lords Justice who resumed oppression of the indigenous Irish. This harshness provoked an uprising in Ulster where, in October 1641, about two thousand¹⁵ Protestants were massacred by the Catholics. The *Encyclopedia* goes on to state that, *After the massacre, St. Patrick's halfpence and farthings were coined by the Papists . . .* quoting an earlier numismatic tradition which held that the St. Patrick's coppers were minted at this time. We now know that these coppers came more than 30 years later in the 1672 to 1675 period, a subject to be discussed subsequently.

Meanwhile in England, Anglican Charles I, always in dire financial straits and chronically at loggerheads with the Puritan House of Commons, requested from them funds to raise an army to suppress the Irish riots. Parliament, in its wisdom, refused this request, suspicious that the king might turn such an army to another use, primarily against them. His request rejected, Charles I adopted another tactic to replenish his depleted treasury in his struggle against the rebellious Irish, the issuance of necessity money as recounted here by Simon:¹⁶

After the most execrable massacre of 1641, the lords justices and council, in order to raise a fund, immediately wanted, to maintain an army to suppress the rebels, issued a proclamation, the fourteenth of January, 1642, to encourage his majesty's loyal subjects to bring in their plate for the service of the government, which was cheerfully complied with, and the same hastily coined into several kinds of species of different shapes. . . .

This was the origin of the Inchiquin necessity money,¹⁷ private silverware "donated" by the king's supporters which was cut and stamped with an indication of weight and issued to support a royal army. The following year, Charles's loyal subjects in Dublin were again exhorted "to send in their plate for the purpose of being coined into money," hence the Ormande money, which on this

¹⁴ Ivor Noël Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York, 1985), p. 155.

¹⁵ This estimate is from R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p. 85, and excluded the number of Catholics slaughtered in retaliation. The actual death toll in the Massacre of 1641 was exaggerated well out of proportion as typified by Charles Dickens in the mid-1800s, who, in *A Child's History of England*, (Boston, 1875), p. 252, placed the figure at 100,000 to 200,000.

¹⁶ James Simon, *An Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins and the Currency of Foreign Monies in Ireland* (Dublin, 1749, reprinted 1810), p. 46.

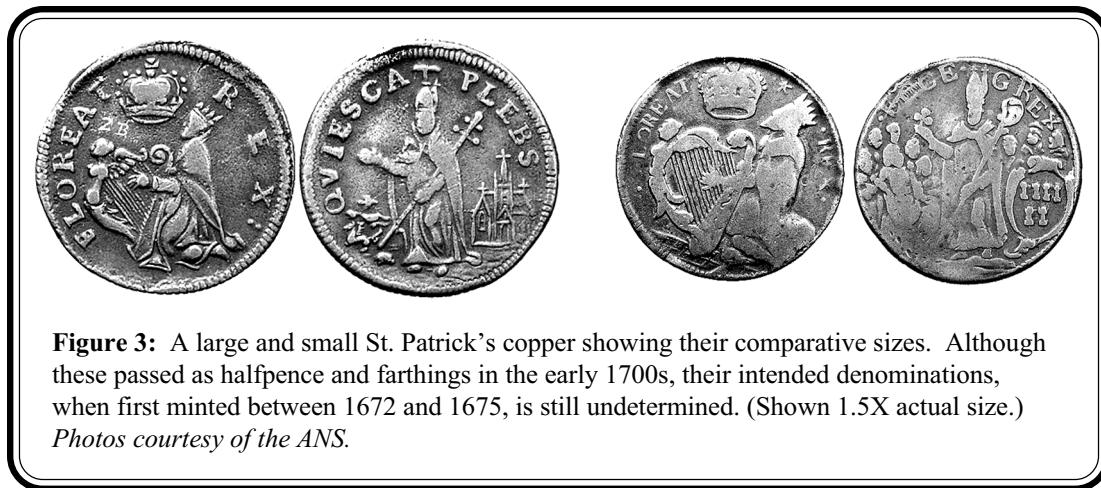
¹⁷ John Lindsay, *A View of the Coinage of Ireland* (Cork, 1839), p. 55; Josset, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78.

occasion contained some gold and both metals were stamped with an indication of value.¹⁸ This is the context of the last sentence in the above *Encyclopedia* entry, *No gold or silver has been coined in Ireland since the massacre of 1641*. I have seen no reports that any of these emergency monies has ever been located in America.

While this conflict was raging in Ireland, differences were growing irreconcilable in England between the Puritan, middle class House of Commons and the monarch, whose divine right claim ignored their political mandate. The English Civil War, begun in 1642, soon spread to Ireland where the three forces squared off against each other. A Roman Catholic Confederacy, formed at Kilkenny, controlled Ulster in the north and Leinster in the south. Parliamentary Puritan forces were also in the north and south, while Dublin was controlled by the Protestant royalists (Episcopal Church of Ireland) under the Duke of Ormonde. The Irish forces at Kilkenny minted very crude halfpence and farthings in 1642 and certain Protestant strongholds minted farthings from 1646 to 1647,¹⁹ but there is no North American connection established for these local necessity monies. This period, 1642, during the Civil War, when the Irish forces were concentrated in Kilkenny, forms the basis of the now discredited claim which formerly attributed the St. Patrick's coppers to these times and events.

There remain more questions than answers about the St. Patrick's coinages. It is still unsettled as to [1] who minted them, [2] when they were minted, and [3] what were the original denominations intended for the two sizes of coins. (Figure 3) As a corollary to the third question, which of the two sizes of coppers was brought to New Jersey by Mark Newby?

In regard to the "who" question, prior numismatic tradition held that the St. Patrick's coppers were minted by the rebels of the Catholic Confederation in Kilkenny²⁰ or perhaps by the Earl of Glamorgan, a royalist supporter, who attempted to raise an Irish army against the Puritan forces in Chester.²¹ This notion, originally advanced because of the Catholic symbolism on the coins, is no longer tenable as explained in the comprehensive review by Michael Hodder who places the



¹⁸ Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Josset, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁹ Seaby and Bussell, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 72-73.

²⁰ Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48; Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

²¹ Don Taxay, *The Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of United States Coins*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1975), p. 39.

tokens in the period 1672 to 1675 after the Restoration of the monarchy.²² Hodder further suggests that the tokens were semi-official, perhaps minted with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Likewise there must have been some sophistication in their elaborate manufacture since gold and silver patterns are known and brass splashers and reeded edges are present.

Although we have some clues as to the "by whom" and "when" these enigmatic coppers were minted, their intended denomination is still a mystery. In *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation*, I present the evidence why I believe that both coins were originally intended to pass as halfpence. The major premise is that they are not found in the 1:2 weight ratio that one would expect in a farthing/ halfpenny relationship. Also, considering that these coppers were commercially motivated tokens which only represented real money, they were issued for somebody's personal gain, and there was insufficient profit if the smaller token were to pass as a farthing.²³ On this point, Robert Heslip of the Ulster Museum, Belfast, adds, "With a token coinage all the cost of production can give us is the minimum value at which a coin could economically circulate and size relationships do not necessarily equate to value either."²⁴ Thus when first minted, it is the potential profit margin which will determine the originally proposed denomination, be it a farthing or a halfpenny. The distinction must be made between the denomination designated at the time of their production and the subsequently adopted monetary value.²⁵ This dilemma concerning the intended denominations of this series is nothing new. In his classic article, Aquilla Smith summarized the opinions expressed by several numismatists from the early 18th century:²⁶

- 1715 - Thornsby concluded they were halfpence and farthings;
- 1724 - Bishop Nicolson noted that the coppers were "current" for halfpence and farthings.
- 1724 - Swift spoke of "the small St. Patrick's coin which now passeth for a farthing, – and the great St. Patrick's halfpenny."
- 1726 - Leake wrote about "copper pieces, which have passed for halfpence and farthings in Ireland, but for what purpose they were coined, and by whom is uncertain. ... but for what value they were originally intended, or made current, is uncertain."
- 1745 - Harris concluded, "In this Reign (Charles II) two or three Kinds of Copper Halfpence were coined. ... These [the smaller ones are inferred here, PLM] afterwards passed for Farthings, and a larger Sort were coined for Halfpence."
- 1749 - Simon wrote, "... the copper pieces, called St. Patrick's Half-pence and Farthings."
- N.D. - Cane, Dawson, Lindsay all consider them pence and halfpence.
- 1854 - Smith, himself, while attributing the series to the period between 1660 and 1680, sidesteps the denomination issue with the disclaimer that the question "can only be decided by some better authority than has yet been discovered."

²² Michael Hodder, "The Saint Patrick Copper Token Coinage. A Re-evaluation of the Evidence," *CNL* 77 (1987), pp. 1016-18. See note 9.

²³ Philip L. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York, 1993), pp. 124-30. I calculated a mere profit of 9.8% for the small coin if it were to pass as a farthing and a more typical profit of 49.1% for the larger piece when it passed as a halfpenny.

²⁴ Personal communication, Jan 15, 1997.

²⁵ Michael Dolley, "St. Patrick's Half-Groats and Pennies," *Irish Numismatics* 61 (1978), p. 39.

²⁶ "On the Copper Coin Commonly Called St. Patrick's," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-eastern Archaeological Society*, March 15, 1854. This paper is partially summarized in Sylvester Crosby, *The Early Coins of America* (Boston, 1875), pp. 136-37.

From the above summary, based on observations made from 1724 to 1745, it was evident that at least in the first quarter of the 1700s, the large and small St. Patrick's coppers were then passing as halfpence and farthings, respectively. However, those authors quoted above, expressing their opinions only fifty years after the St. Patrick's coppers were presumed to have been minted, admitted no clear consensus as to the coins's original denominations, although several inferred both coins were halfpence. I believe, based on potential profits derived from their manufacture, they started life as two sizes of halfpence, the smaller ones later retariffed as farthings. This is more than an theoretical argument since it has its practical consequence considering that an unknown quantity of St. Patrick's money was transported to New Jersey in 1681 by Mark Newby, an English Quaker, who emigrated to America seeking freedom from the religious persecution which he suffered in Dublin as a member of this minority sect.²⁷ Heslip observes that "it is no coincidence that Newby brought coins to America in 1681 - just after the first issue of large regal halfpence. That does not necessarily imply the St. Patrick's were competing at the same denomination, just that the government were not prepared to tolerate 'private' coinage in competition with their own. Even more apposite, Armstrong and Legg (i.e.,the minters of the new royal coppers of Charles II, PLM) were in a position to do something about it."²⁸

These "halfpence" were made legal tender in New Jersey in 1682 at a rate of 18 to the local shilling for debts under five shillings. Both the large and small coppers could have been passing for halfpence when Newby acquired them and moreover we don't know which variety of coppers Newby brought with him - the larger sort, the smaller ones, or perhaps both? The jury is still out on this question which continues to plague New Jersey specialists since there is no certain answer forthcoming in the surviving literary documentation. Crosby stated that many St. Patrick halfpence have been ploughed up on Newby's original farm, and from this brief statement we conclude this account refers to the larger coin.²⁹ To date, one small St. Patrick's coin has been recovered in Laurel, Maryland in 1987 (Figure 4) and there is a reliable report of a second St. Patrick's "farthing"



Figure 4: A small St. Patrick's coin recovered by a metal detector in Laurel, MD in 1987. This coin appeared in the Colonial Coin Collectors' Club Convention auction, November 8, 1997, lot 309. As the cataloguer correctly stated, "No conclusions of any sort can be drawn from an isolated discovery, but it becomes one small piece in the jig saw puzzle of which denomination[s], Halfpence or Farthings, actually circulated in North America." (Shown 1.5X actual size.) *Photo courtesy of John Griffie, Bill Noyes, and Stan Stephens.*

²⁷ A St. Patrick's coppers bibliography includes, William T. Anton and Michael Hodder, "The Mark Newby Homesite," *CNL*, pp. 1111-17; David D. Gladfelter, "Mark Newby, Quaker Pioneer," *TAMS Journal* 1974, pp. 167-76; Mossman, op. cit., pp. 124-30.

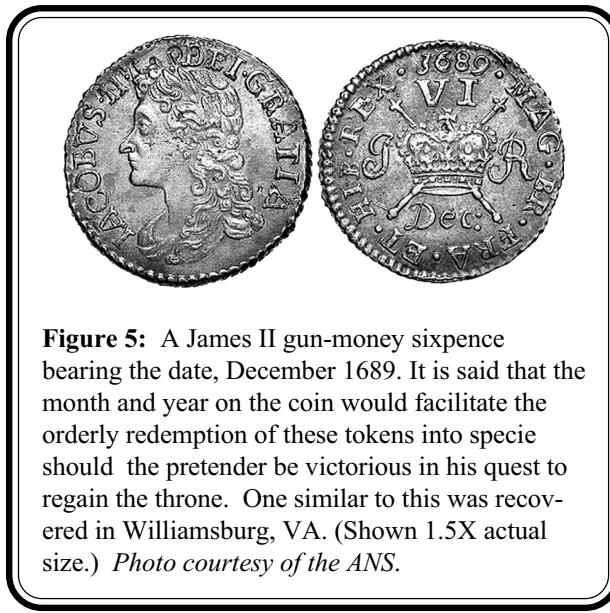
²⁸ Personal communication, Feb. 9, 1999.

²⁹ Crosby, *op. cit.* 135n.

having been excavated in New Bern, North Carolina, a community which was not founded until 1711.³⁰ The documented recovery of these two smaller coins does nothing more than to goad our curiosity. This question, as to which St. Patrick's coppers had currency in America, may ultimately be settled by metal detectionists who hopefully can recover more of these coppers from the early Quaker settlements.

This is an appropriate juncture to bring up another imponderably complex issue. Is it possible to extrapolate backwards from the number of coins (not just St. Patrick's coppers, but coins in general) recovered some three hundred years after accidental loss to estimate an approximation of the original census of the coins in circulation? We know that at least 10,800 St. Patrick's coppers (i.e. £30)³¹ were later redeemed by Newby's estate, but what is a fair number to suppose were inadvertently discarded or lost? One important factor in this equation is the length of time the coinage was in circulation. If an issue is redeemed after only a brief currency, then we could anticipate many fewer would have been lost.

To return to Ireland, an alliance between royalist Ormande and the Catholic Confederacy failed and when the defeat of the Charles I was imminent, Dublin surrendered in 1647. The remaining Irish armies were no match for the Puritan Parliamentary forces under Cromwell whose murderous revenge for the massacre of 1641 and the "Great Rebellion" is another blot on history. Following the beheading of the king in 1649, the Commonwealth existed until the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. It was during that interregnum that the Bay Colony colonists started to mint Massachusetts silver in 1652, rationalizing the justification that since no monarch was on the throne, they did not violate the royal prerogative.



The treatment of the Irish Catholics improved when their fellow Catholic Duke of York ascended to the throne as James II.³² He proved an unpopular monarch in Protestant England, as one might imagine, and was forced to abdicate in favor of his Protestant daughter, Mary, and nephew and son-in-law, William of Orange. James II, in an attempt to regain his throne, raised an army in sympathetic Catholic Ireland which he financed by minting more "necessity money," the famous Irish gunmoney of 1689-90.³³ (Figure 5) This is a fascinating series with many ardent collectors. Of this money, Noël Hume stated, "I would have been inclined to suppose that these rather specialized coins had little American relevance were it not for the fact that one such sixpence was dug up a few years

³⁰ Will Georges Civil War Antiques, New Bern, NC, *Winter Catalogue #1* (Winter, 1996), p. 6. (Reference courtesy of Thomas Kays.)

³¹ Gladfelter, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

³² When James II was Duke of York, his brother, Charles II, named an American colony, New York, in his honor.

³³ Josset, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

ago by a laborer laying a foundation for a motel in Williamsburg.³⁴ Again this lone discovery attests to the fact that all varieties of world coinage could have landed here within the personal belongings of the emigrant population. In a coined-starved economy, one could reasonably expect some limited circulation of such a piece until it was unfortunately dropped by the wayside, only to be recovered by a future generation.

The Revolution of 1688 failed and Ireland again became economically and politically subordinated to England, a fact reconfirmed by a 1720 statute which "inseparably united and annexed" Ireland to England.³⁵ The Irish, always resentful of this "annexation," were further stunned in 1722 at the unsolicited and unannounced arrival of the next foreign invader, Wood's coppers.³⁶ The patriotic spirit was rekindled because of the alleged concern that this projected infusion of overvalued copper into the small change medium was ten times greater than needed and its sheer volume would displace the circulating gold and silver, further depressing commerce.³⁷ There was great consternation at the low intrinsic weight of this proposed money which could not even be assuaged by the intervention of Sir Isaac Newton who supported its *admirable workmanship* and guaranteed its pure copper content. Although this brouhaha was inflamed all out of proportion by the Protestant clergyman from Dublin with his own agenda, Jonathan Swift was still an Irishman who rallied national sentiment against yet another enemy, this time a perceived threat to the national economy. Still, when one considers the historical context of the preceding years of oppression and strife, there should be no surprise that William Wood's lightweight Hibernia coins *excited such discontent in Ireland*.³⁸ But when reduced to its essential elements, the primary conflict between Swift and England is better understood in political rather than economic terms.

It has been traditionally cited that Wood's Hibernia coppers, after they were refused by the Irish, were sent to America where there was want of small change. I cannot find the origin of this assertion and for many years was skeptical of this claim. Thomas Prior wrote in 1729, "... about twenty years ago, we had too great a stock of farthings and halfpennies current amongst us and suffered our traders to carry off a great quantity to New England, Pennsylvania and other parts of the West Indies where they are a higher value."³⁹ The object of Prior's reference is unclear since "twenty years" earlier, or about 1709, is 20 years too late for the St. Patrick's money and 20 years too early for Wood's Hibernias. Swift said nothing about the eventual fate of the Hibernia coppers in his voluminous correspondence. Wood, however, revealed a possible plan of how to unburden himself of his coins in a letter to his brother-in-law in Dublin dated August 10, 1723, where he recounted the difficulties in introducing his coinage into circulation.

The Obstructions are of great Disservice to me at present [i.e., of getting his coins into circulation, PLM.] but I have such Interest as not to fear any Ill Consequences and if Your Kingdom Refuseth the Coin it will easily be Disposed of elsewhere. I have lately had one Mr. Newsom a Quaker with me who would agree for the whole Quantity.⁴⁰

³⁴ Noël Hume, *A Guide*, p. 165. If the coin was found in an abandoned foundation, it was probably lost there by an Irish workman during the original construction some 300 years ago (personal communication, Thomas Kays, Feb. 5, 1999).

³⁵ Herbert Davis, ed. *The Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland against receiving Wood's Halfpence* by Jonathan Swift (Oxford, 1965), ix, x.

³⁶ See Sydney F. Martin, "Wood's Hibernia Farthings; An Analysis & Categorization" (TN-160), *CNL*, pp. 1457-64; "Wood's Hibernia Halfpence; An Analysis & Categorization" (TN-176), *CNL*, pp. 1593-99.

³⁷ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. xi, xviii, 20-21.

³⁸ See Mossman, *op. cit.*, p. 130-33, Table 16. I can find no support to the allegation by Simon and Swift that Wood reduced the weight of his coppers to augment profit.

³⁹ *Observations on Coin in General with some Proposals for Regulating the Value of Coin in Ireland* (Dublin, 1729), p. 42.

⁴⁰ Davis, *op. cit.*, xvi.

This passage answers nothing but does intensify the mystery; who was Mr. Newsom and what was he going to do with the rejected coinage? Wood's difficulties in North America with his Rosa Americana series were common knowledge as indicated in *Drapier's Letter III*, dated one year later on August 25, 1724, where Swift related,⁴¹ "He hath already tryed his Faculty in *New-England*, and I hope he will meet at least with an EQUAL RECEPTION here [i.e. Ireland, PLM], . . ." Other pamphlets and broadsides regarding Wood's Hibernia coppers published through 1725 failed to offer any additional clues as to where Wood was contemplating to dump his unwanted money.

Simon estimated that of the £100,800 worth of coppers originally permitted by Wood's patent, "About £17,000 value of these Halfpence and Farthings were sent over [from England] and uttered in this kingdom [Ireland] in the years 1722 and 1723."⁴² Considering a ratio of 1:14, farthings to halfpence,⁴³ this would amount to about 7,589,000 halfpence and 1,142,000 farthings. Since many pristine specimens exist today, certainly all did not enter circulation. Robert Heslip has noted, "Wood's coinage rarely appears with an Irish provenance, the bulk having been exported to the more tolerant, or desperate Americans."⁴⁴ He further reports that no hoards of Wood's coppers have ever been located in Ireland.⁴⁵

If Wood's coppers are not found in Ireland, and even if a fraction of the unwanted 8,700,000-odd coins were dispatched to America, then where have they been hibernating over the years?⁴⁶ They are not common here as we shall subsequently learn. This 8,700,000 practically amounts to the combined populations of Connecticut and New Jersey state coppers minted some 60 years later! W.C. Prime, writing in 1861, stated that Wood's Hibernia coppers could still be found in circulation in America.⁴⁷ Walter Breen reported, "Many worn examples have turned up in noncollector accumulations from New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, such groups (from internal evidence) dating to the mid-18th century."⁴⁸ Since these two sources are without supporting documentation, I remained skeptical in my review of this matter and could find no contemporaneous reference substantiating these claims that Hibernia coppers were found on this continent in any significant numbers in the colonial period.⁴⁹

Challenged by this question, for the past eighteen years I've been recording all the documented retrievals of Wood's Hibernia coppers I could find to determine if a circulation pattern can be derived. To date, my current census totals 84 examples which are tabulated below. The largest single group, 47 halfpence, came from the Aaron White Hoard, accumulated during the Civil War by an eccentric Connecticut lawyer, who, suspicious of paper money, amassed an estimated 155,900 U.S. and foreign coins, principally coppers. This money is considered representative of the coins circulating in his area from 1857 to 1864. Among this cache were 20,000 to 30,000 foreign coppers, the 47 well-worn Wood's pieces, and 181 Confederation period coppers. Breen commented that at the outbreak of the war, many of these older coins were "brought out of hiding" and pressed into service again. Still there remains no indication when these Wood's issues, 134 years old in 1857, were imported, but from their state of preservation, one could assume that they had been well circulated, but where? Even though present in the Aaron White Hoard, and still

⁴¹ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 239.

⁴² Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁴³ Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

⁴⁴ Personal communication, Jan 20, 1997.

⁴⁵ Personal communication, Jan 15, 1997.

⁴⁶ Please forgive that terrible pun.

⁴⁷ *Coins, Metals and Seals* (New York, 1861), Chap. IV, reprint *CNL* (1971), p. 7. Prime was inaccurate in his comments about the circulation of Massachusetts silver and the 1783 Washington and Independence tokens.

⁴⁸ *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* (New York, 1988), p. 27.

⁴⁹ Mossman, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-35.

found in the 1860s according to Prime, there is nothing to indicate the time frame in which they were imported, which could have just as well been during the massive Irish immigration following the potato famine of 1845-47.⁵⁰ Even earlier than that, there was the significant influx of 55,000 Irish Protestants between 1760 and 1775, as compared to 30,000 Scots and a like number of English for the same period.⁵¹

The next largest lot was excavated at coastal Pemaquid, Maine, about which we have historical information.⁵² It began as a trading post in the 1620s, and in 1677, to protect New England interests against the French and Indians, a garrison was built. For greater security against the marauding Indians, a new stone fort, Fort William, was erected on the site in 1692. Its superior construction notwithstanding, the fort was captured and totally demolished by a combined French and Indian force in August 1696.⁵³ Pemaquid, situated between the Kennebec and St. Croix Rivers, was within territory disputed by the Colonies of Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, whose common border remained ill-defined for years. In 1729, David Dunbar, the Surveyor-General of the King's Woods, responsible for safeguarding suitable lumber and masts for the Royal Navy, forwarded a proposition to the English Board of Trade to colonize the region with Protestant Irish and Palatinate settlers. Massachusetts opposed the proposal which was favored and aided by Nova Scotia. Dunbar rebuilt the garrison, renamed Frederick's Fort in honor of the Prince of Wales, constructed a large wharf, and started some 30 to 40 houses. The community was occupied by about 50 Irish families, some having immigrated from Londonderry. Massachusetts maintained an overtly hostile stance toward the new settlement which from 1731 to 1733 actually recruited a small military force from Nova Scotia for protection.⁵⁴ The sovereignty battle over the land continued until finally after 1733, the fledgling colony dissolved.

The 83 coins recovered by archeologists at the Pemaquid site are permanent memoranda attesting to its colorful past history, having survived long after the 1620s trading post, the forts, and the Irish settlement vanished into oblivion. The earliest piece is a 1631-32 Charles I silver penny, followed by a Pine Tree sixpence (Noe-33, c. 1667-74) and a Pine tree shilling (Noe-16, c. 1675-82), both full weight. There are some 33 English halfpence of which 20 date from the reign of George II (the years 1749 and 1753 predominate), 18 Wood's Hibernias issues, a single George II young bust Irish halfpenny, and one Charles II Irish halfpenny (1680-81). Only two Spanish silver coins are present, a 1720 half pistareen, and a 1766 Mexican two reales. Except for the Hibernias and the Charles II halfpenny, this inventory is otherwise similar to other finds from the northern colonies of the period where coppers predominate as small change. (Figure 6) The Hibernia coppers, obviously brought over by the settlers, must have seen predominantly local circulation. Because the interaction between Pemaquid and Massachusetts was so tenuous, it is unlikely that their Irish money entered the wider currency pool of New England but remained pretty much within the community. The recovered George II Irish halfpenny must date to a later period of history and together with the five 1749 English halfpence suggests that commerce with Boston resumed after the Irish settlement failed and Massachusetts again controlled the region.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ I am indebted to Thomas Kays for calling this observation to my attention.

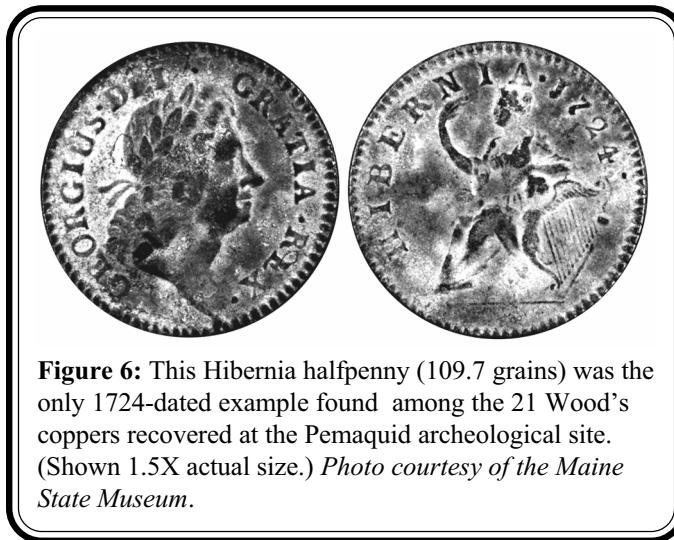
⁵¹ Edwin J. Perkins, *The Economy of Colonial America* (New York, 1988), 2nd ed., p.2.

⁵² Robert Earle Moody, *The Maine Frontier, 1607-1763* (Yale University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1933), pp.387-405; Richard W. Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel W. Eastman, *Maine the Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present* (Orono, ME, 1995), p. 54. I would like to thank Edwin Churchill, Ph.D., curator Maine State Museum, for his assistance with this section. Also I am grateful to Dr. Churchill and Sheila McDonald, Historic Site Specialist, Department of Conservation, State of Maine, for allowing me and Charles W. Smith to examine the coins recovered from Pemaquid.

⁵³ Peter L. McCreath and John G. Leefe, *A History of Early Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1990), 3rd ed., pp. 77, 92-95.

⁵⁴ Winthrop P. Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961), repr. 1990, pp. 31-32n.

⁵⁵ In 1749, the *Mermaid* carried a shipment of 801,376 English halfpence, mostly dated 1749, to Boston which circulated in the region for years. They are very commonly recovered from early settlements. See Mossman, *op. cit.*, p. 100.



observation that since Hibernia coppers are probably the least expensive coins listed in popular coin catalogues, the average collector would naturally conclude that they were also common in early America. The below table demonstrates that they were scarcer in colonial times than one might think and that large numbers of them must have arrived here recently. He further observes that only when one starts counting the number of coins recovered in historical context and then compares the results to other colonials that the relative scarcity of Hibernias becomes apparent.⁵⁶

The final lot of three was recovered with the Philadelphia Highway Find of William III cast counterfeit halfpence. Their presence cannot be taken as evidence of a general circulation since the area of discovery had been an old tavern and seafarers's haunt, where any sailor fresh off an arriving ship, could have accidentally dropped his pocket change in a frantic rush to drown his thirst.

From the census in Table I, we can identify seven original colonies, or an eighth, if the Province of Maine is included, in which Hibernia coppers circulated. Kays makes the

Table I: A Catalogue of Wood's Hibernia Coppers Recovered in America

Description		Location
basal state Wood's farthing		Frederick, MD ⁵⁷
1723 Wood's farthing		unknown site ⁵⁸
1723 Wood's farthing	44.9 grains	Pemaquid, ME ⁵⁹
1723 Wood's farthing	46.8 grains, poor	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's farthing	47.5 grains	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	106.7 grains, good	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	92.4 grains	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	99.1 grains	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	70.4 grains, basal	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	108.9 grains	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	115.1 grains	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	121.5 grains	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	105.6 grains, damaged	Pemaquid, ME

⁵⁶ Personal communication, Thomas Kays, January 28, 1999.

⁵⁷ Personal communication, Ron Callaghan

⁵⁸ From <http://www.netreasure.com/finding.html> (Reference courtesy of Thomas Kays.)

⁵⁹ Personal communication, Edwin Churchill, Ph.D., curator Maine State Museum, and Sheila McDonald, Historic Site Specialist, Department of Conservation, State of Maine. This applies to all the Pemaquid examples.

Table I: A Catalogue of Wood's Hibernia Coppers Recovered in America (Cont'd)

Description		Location
1723 Wood's halfpenny	118.9 grains, excellent	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	103.5 grains	Pemaquid, ME
1723 Wood's halfpenny	106.2 grains, excellent	Pemaquid, ME
1724 Wood's halfpenny	109.7 grains, excellent	Pemaquid, ME
basal state Wood's halfpenny	99.7 grains, corroded	Pemaquid, ME
basal state Wood's halfpenny	100.4 grains	Pemaquid, ME
probable Wood's halfpenny	102.7 grains	Pemaquid, ME
2 ND Wood's halfpenny		Williamsburg, VA ⁶⁰
ND Wood's halfpenny		Prince Edward County, VA ⁶¹
1723 Wood's halfpenny		New York City ⁶²
1723 Wood's halfpenny		New Rochelle, NY ⁶³
ND Wood's halfpenny		ditto
1723 Wood's halfpenny		Upper NY State ⁶⁴
47 - Wood's halfpennies	Aaron White Hoard ⁶⁵	CT
1722 Wood's halfpenny	Harp right variety	Unidentified site ⁶⁶
1723 Wood's halfpenny		Gloucester, MA ⁶⁷
ND Wood's halfpenny	Independence Hall find	Philadelphia, PA ⁶⁸
1724 Wood's halfpenny	Extra fine condition	Alexandria, VA ⁶⁹
3 - 1723 Wood's halfpennies	Phila. Highway find	Philadelphia, PA ⁷⁰
ND Wood's halfpenny		Falls Church , VA ⁷¹
1723 Wood's halfpenny		Shenandoah Valley, VA ⁷²
1723 Wood's halfpenny	Very good	NH ⁷³

⁶⁰ Personal communication, Ivor Noël Hume, October 15, 1997.⁶¹ ditto⁶² Robert Apuzzo, *New York City's Buried Past*, (NP, 1992), p. 74. (Reference courtesy of John Kleeberg.)⁶³ Theodore Kazimiroff, Bronx County Historical Society. (Reference courtesy of John Kleeberg.)⁶⁴ Personal communication, Ed Fedory.⁶⁵ *The Numismatist*, October 1952, pp. 1007-10.⁶⁶ Frank J. Colletti, "Just Another Old School," *Western & Eastern Treasures*, May 1997, pp. 49-50.⁶⁷ Gerald T. Ahnert, "Dogtown: A New England Ghost Town," *Lost Treasures*, Oct. 1979, pp. 29-32. (Reference courtesy of Thomas Kays.)⁶⁸ *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 31, 1996. This example was discovered by an archeologist beneath the grand staircase leading up to the Independence Hall tower. (Reference courtesy of Thomas Kays.)⁶⁹ Personal communication, Thomas Kays, June 11, 1997.⁷⁰ Eric P. Newman, "The Philadelphia Highway Coin Find," *The Numismatist*, March 1978, p. 465.⁷¹ Personal communication, Thomas Kays March 12, 1997. This finding has not been verified.⁷² ditto⁷³ From eBay item #27724544., Sept 2, 1998.

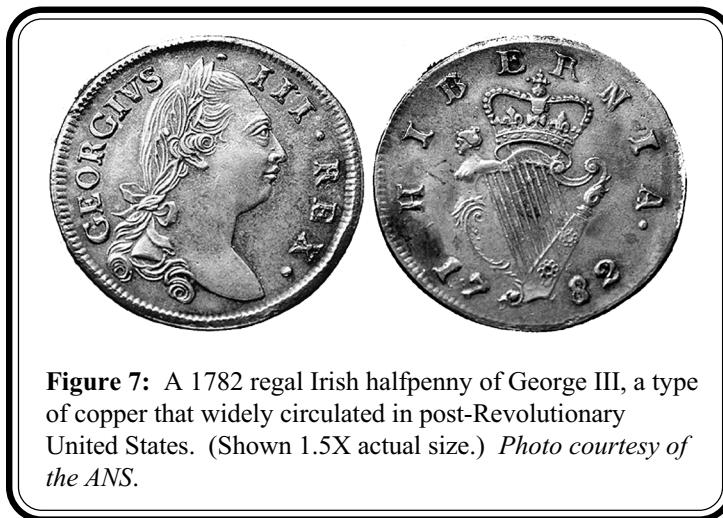


Figure 7: A 1782 regal Irish halfpenny of George III, a type of copper that widely circulated in post-Revolutionary United States. (Shown 1.5X actual size.) *Photo courtesy of the ANS.*

the coppers of these two later monarchs, both Tower Mint and counterfeit, were common North American coinages with both archeological and literary documentation attesting to their widespread circulation. To this point Heslip adds one further conclusion to this study: "Ireland and America were on the ends of currency chains, both geographically and in terms of economic disadvantage. Such places tend to attract and keep lower quality coinage - light weight specie, even forgeries. Irish coppers were worth less than English as well as being of lighter weight so I would expect a slight over-representation in the American context."⁷⁴

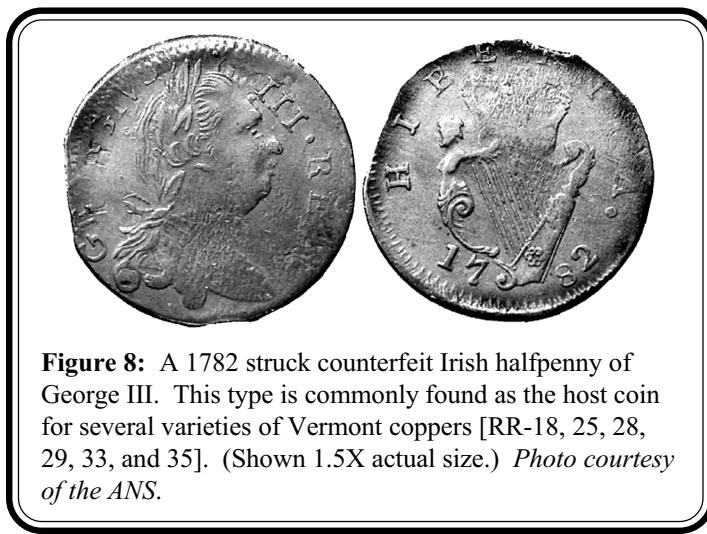


Figure 8: A 1782 struck counterfeit Irish halfpenny of George III. This type is commonly found as the host coin for several varieties of Vermont coppers [RR-18, 25, 28, 29, 33, and 35]. (Shown 1.5X actual size.) *Photo courtesy of the ANS.*

The *Encyclopedia* continues: *In 1737 the Irish halfpence and farthings, with the harp on the reverse, were coined, and continue to the present time. Fifteen years following the Wood debacle, the Tower Mint provided Ireland with regal coppers coinage 15% heavier than Wood's patent coinage and with the proviso that any profit derived from this money would benefit the Irish treasury. Thus from the period 1737 to 1782, regal Irish coppers were minted periodically through the reigns of George II and George III.* (Figure 7) It is certain that

Since both Irish and English coppers could be counterfeited at considerable profit and with little legal consequence if apprehended, these were widely manufactured in clandestine operations. Initially these false coppers were cast copies of legitimate coins⁷⁵ and but by mid-century, counterfeiters began to master the technology required to strike coins from engraved dies. By the reign of George III, cast counterfeits are very rare, accounting for only 6% of Irish coppers and less than 1% of English.⁷⁶ Counterfeit Irish

halfpence dated 1781 and 1782, are frequently identified as the host coins for Vermont and New Jersey state issues. (Figure 8) There are also 1783-dated struck counterfeit halfpence, a year

⁷⁴ Personal communication, Feb. 9, 1999.

⁷⁵ A splendid specimen of a 1750 George II cast counterfeit Irish halfpenny, in the company of three 1749 English halfpence, was recovered at Fort Halifax, Winslow, ME, an outpost during the French and Indian Wars. Dr. Smith and I are also grateful to Leon E. Cranmer, Historic Archeologist, Maine Historic Preservation Commission, for allowing us to catalogue the Fort Halifax coins.

⁷⁶ See Philip L. Mossman and Charles W. Smith, "Imported and Domestic Counterfeit Coppers in Pre-Federal America," COAC, November 7, 1998, in press.



Figure 9: An unusual “counterfeit of a counterfeit.” This is a cast copy of a 1783 struck counterfeit Irish halfpenny, a date when no legal coins were minted. The counterfeiter made a cast copy of the illegal coin, thus “compounding the crime.” The composition of this coin is 91.8% copper, 4.4% lead, 0.8% tin, and 3.0% iron. The casting port is clearly visible at K-9 on the obverse. The 1783 struck counterfeits are linked with the Georgius Triumpho coppers. (Shown 1.5X actual size.) *Photo courtesy of Mike Ringo and the ANS.* [From Charles W. Smith and Philip L. Mossman, “Cast Counterfeit Coppers in Pre-Federal America,” *CNL*, pp. 1791, 1796.]

when no legal coppers were coined. (Figure 9) It is a curious observation that there were no 1783 examples in a large cache of 170 circulated counterfeit Irish halfpence unearthed near Jonesborough County, Northern Ireland, thought to have been deposited about 1805.⁷⁷ This raises the question where these 1783 Irish counterfeits were minted and circulated since by another coincidence they are closely linked to the 1783 Georgius Triumpho coppers.⁷⁸

Dated 1760 between the reigns of George II and George III, there were issued in Dublin the Voce Populi halfpenny and farthing tokens. A North American circulation has been claimed for these coppers by Breen who states that they are found with Wood’s coins, 1749 Tower halfpence,⁷⁹

and other counterfeit coppers, but this observation is not confirmed by any published inventories.⁸⁰ Heslip is of the opinion “that these were essentially a Dublin coinage, only dispersed accidentally with the later evasions. Numismatically they appear to have been issued over a period, but contemporary references are scarce.”⁸¹ The Voce Populi were never mentioned as an American currency by either Crosby or Prime; Zelinka concluded that late 19th century numismatists and dealers must have associated the Voce Populi with evasive halfpence and the like, which is not sufficient proof of a colonial circulation.⁸² Considering the wave of immigration to the New World, any coin or merchant’s token could have arrived in America as pocket change and seen some local circulation among the potpourri of money carried here from all over the Europe. A single Voce Populi was rumored to have been salvaged from the *Faithful Steward*.⁸³ I know of two recovered Voce Populi halfpence, a Nelson 7 variety from upper New York State⁸⁴ (either Saratoga or Rensselaer county) (Figure 10) and a second from a colonial period plantation in Port Deposit, MD.⁸⁵

⁷⁷ Personal communications, Robert Heslip, January 3, 1997, January 20, 1999.

⁷⁸ Mike Ringo, “Georgivs Triumpho,” *CNL*, pp. 1515-20.

⁷⁹ See note 55.

⁸⁰ Breen, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 36.

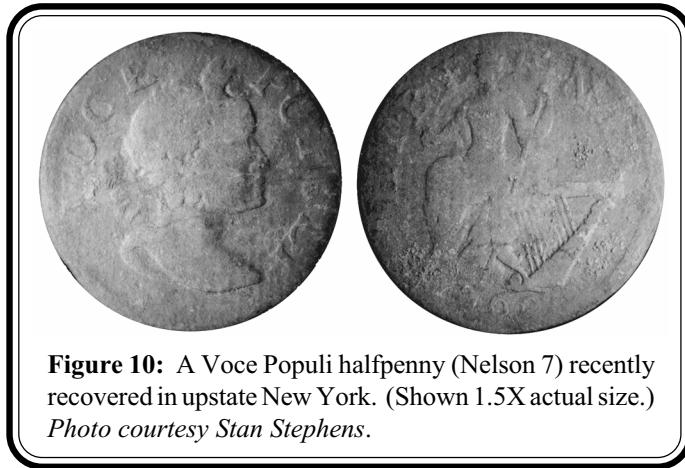
⁸¹ Personal communication, January 20, 1997.

⁸² Jerry Zelinka, “The Enigmatic VOCE POPULI Halfpenny of 1760,” *CNL*, pp. 555-65.

⁸³ John M. Kleeberg, “Shipwreck of the Faithful Steward,” *Coinage of the American Confederation Period*, COAC 11 (1996), pp. 66-67.

⁸⁴ Personal communications, Stan Stephens, January 13, 1999, and Mike Ringo, January 14, 1999.

⁸⁵ eBay Aug. 10, 1998, item #24016948 (Reference courtesy of Thomas Kays.)



Discussion and Conclusions

How does this analysis of Irish coins located in British North America fit into the overall schema of the our knowledge of circulating foreign currency within the American Colonies and Confederation? First of all, we must recall that with a few exceptions, no specific coinages were allocated by England for colonial use. The export of specie coins from England was forbidden because of the shortage of an adequate supply for the metropolitan economy. Nonetheless, English coins were brought over by the colonists despite the restriction to the contrary, but in general, local commerce depended on a host of foreign specie, especially Spanish-American silver. There was no prohibition against the export of English and Irish coppers. This subject has been previously covered in depth.⁸⁶ A few copper coinages were minted specifically for American use before the Confederation period, and after independence, other unofficial tokens were imported for our domestic market. Displaying this information in an outline format helps us to visualize this scenario:

Table II: Imported Currency Circulating in Pre-Federal America

A. Foreign (and English) specie coins whose use has been confirmed

1. those enumerated in Proclamation of 1704 (no English)
2. those specified as legal tender by various colonial legislatures
3. those enumerated in published tables of foreign exchange
4. those appearing in other public records and newspaper accounts etc.
5. those recovered from hoards, archeological excavations, etc.

B. Coppers struck in England specifically for American use

1. Rosa Americana coinages
2. 1773 Virginia halfpence

C. Regal English coppers officially imported for American circulation

1. 1749 consignment of English coppers on the *Mermaid*⁸⁷
2. other documented shipments

D. Coppers unofficially imported and subsequently legalized

1. St. Patrick's coppers

⁸⁶ Mossman, *op. cit.*, chaps 1, 2.

⁸⁷ See notes 55, 75, and 79.

Table II: Imported Currency Circulating in Pre-Federal America (Cont'd)**E. Coppers whose generalized, unofficial circulation has been confirmed from hoards, archeological excavations, contemporaneous records, etc.**

1. English and Irish halfpence, regal and counterfeit, imported by individuals
2. Tokens minted in England and imported for local use, e.g. Nova Constellatio
3. Others; ? Wood's Hibernias

F. Coppers with a definite localized currency

1. for use in isolated ethnic settlements, e.g. patent token farthings

G. Miscellaneous coppers with neither a generalized nor local circulation

1. accidental loss and coincidental recovery of individual coins

This paper is far from a definitive study – it is just the start of a data base in which examples of eight categories of Irish coinages have been located in a total of eight former British North American colonies.⁸⁸ But what does this all mean? It is a variation of the old theme, “One swallow maketh not summer.”⁸⁹ Although we concur that one swallow doesn’t make a summer, just how many recovered coins does it require to infer a general currency versus to postulate the chance finding of a few coins lost by individuals who carried them here with their personal possessions from their homeland. Referring to the above schema, I would place the single gunmoney sixpence and the pair of Voce Populi halfpence under Class G as Irish money whose presence and later recovery was incidental.

Since “currency follows the flag” in communities settled primarily by Irish immigrants, one could expect to recover from their settlements coins and other artifacts indigenous to their culture. This would explain the cache of Wood’s coppers in an isolated settlement in Maine and perhaps the finding of Queen Elizabeth Irish coppers in Jamestown. Since the James I and Charles I token farthings would have been the money of both Irish and English settlers, it is certainly reasonable to encounter these issues in any pre-English Civil War community where they no doubt entered into local commerce. However, in the earlier plantations, we would have expected more English than Irish colonists. If these token farthings had not been important in the first half of the 17th century, why would the Massachusetts General Court have sought to have them demonetized, and why would Governor Harvey have requested additional? I would tend to place the above coinages in Class F since a good case can be made for a colonial connection.

Certainly there is enough evidence to say that George II and George III genuine and counterfeit Irish halfpence circulated widely in the Colonial and Confederation small change medium. Without question, I would assign them to Class E. We know that the St. Patrick’s coppers became an authorized currency in New Jersey and so they are placed in Class D. Still it is an ongoing project to discover whether this authorization included only the larger sort or whether both sizes were legalized.

To return to the Hibernias, other than those just discussed from Pemaquid, certainly 8,700,000 did not land here but we have found evidence of them within seven colonies, Massachusetts, including the Province of Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. While we cannot say how many Wood’s coppers were actually imported, they were present over a wide area with a unique concentration in a Maine community of Irish

⁸⁸ Elizabeth coppers, patent token farthings of James I and Charles I, gunmoney of James II, St. Patrick’s, Hibernia coppers, Voce Populi, regal and counterfeit halfpence of George II and George III.

⁸⁹ John Heywood, *circa* 1565.

settlers. The case is becoming stronger that they were a significantly generalized colonial coinage and as more sightings are reported, these coins may soon properly reside in Class E.

This paper is only the beginning and I invite all *CNL* patrons to add to this inventory any of their own observations. In this manner, and as a group effort, it is our mutual ambition to uncover patterns of circulation of early American coinages, in this case, Irish coppers. May I please hear from you if you have any documented coins that can be included in this census.

Acknowledgments

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The Colonial Coin and Currency Websites at Notre Dame
by
Louis Jordan; Notre Dame, IN

The Department of Special Collections at the University of Notre Dame has mounted two rather extensive internet sites on the coins and currencies of the Colonial and Confederation eras. These sites, as well as a forthcoming site on Washington tokens, can be found on the web at the following URL: www.coins.nd.edu where there is a brief description of each site with a hot link to the table of contents for the site selected. As this article is by the author of the sites, what follows is a discussion of the sites as well as plans for future improvements rather than an impartial review.

By training, I am a medievalist with a specialty in Latin paleography, that is, the study of the various handwritings found in medieval manuscripts, and have worked in that area for the past twenty years. When I assumed responsibility for the Department of Special Collections at Notre Dame in 1993, I was pleased to have discovered among its holdings several large numismatic collections, the most significant being the Robert H. Gore, Jr. collection. Mr. Gore, a 1931 Notre Dame graduate, donated, over the decade of the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, his collection of colonial coins and an extensive U.S. type set collection. The Gore family has long been a benefactor to Notre Dame making several donations and even financing the construction of the University Club building. Along with the donation of the numismatic collection, Mr. Gore also gave an endowment assuring an annual income to continue to build and work with the materials. Now retired and living in Florida, Mr. Gore is an ANA member and was most active as a collector in the 1960s through the late 1970s. In addition to the Gore holdings, the University acquired some substantial collections during the nineteenth century, including colonial, Confederate and world currencies, British and Canadian tokens and coppers from the 18th through the early 19th centuries, Washington tokens of the 19th century, American tokens from the Hard Times era through the Civil War, European coinage of the 17th and 18th centuries as well as collections of 19th and 20th century American coinage, and numerous Franklin mint issues.

When I began to investigate the numismatic collections, I asked John Kleeberg of the ANS to come out to the University to give a lecture and inspect our holdings. During his two and a half day visit, John saw hundreds of coins and made many attributions. We also discussed several aspects of numismatics from preservation and bibliography to areas of future research. Over the next few months, I began organizing and preserving the collections. My first task was to inventory our colonial materials and make them accessible to the public. To do this I decided a web catalog would be the most effective format. After experimenting with coin photography I proceeded with a web site. Over the following summer (1995) two students were hired to photograph the Gore colonial coins and mount scans of the photos on the web. This first effort was encouraging but showed we had a long way to go. This prototype project is still on the web and accessible from <http://www.nd.edu/~rarebook/Dept/Text/exhibits.html> (as the Gore Colonial Coin Collection). It was clear a great deal of research was needed to categorize, identify and explain the coins in a way that would make them usable for researchers. Further work was also needed on developing improved techniques for high quality scans.

Coins of Colonial and Early America

The current site was introduced two and a half years later as an ongoing web project entitled, *The Coins of Colonial and Early America*. This site features discussions, descriptions and images of the coins and tokens of Colonial and Confederation America. Items traditionally collected as part of the Colonial American series have been included even now when they are not considered to

have circulated in America in any significant quantity, such as the Voce Populi coppers or the Franklin Press token. Collectors still look for these items in the series and discussion sections are needed to clarify their current status. Similarly, we have included items such as the Elephant and Rhode Island Ship tokens, made for promotional or propaganda purposes about America, but for circulation elsewhere. Additionally, the Washington tokens, now known to be from the 19th century but traditionally collected as part of the colonial series, are included, as are the North American token and the controversial Mott token. Some liberties have been taken by including Blacksmith tokens and Birmingham coppers made for Bermuda, the Bahamas and Barbados to give a fuller picture of the coinage involved in the current debate on "North American Coppers." On the other hand, we have greatly reduced Breen's extensive listing of French coinage which Michael Hodder has shown to have been overly ambitious. Introductions to a few items, such as the Washington Ugly Head token and some 1792 provisions issues, are not yet ready. The sections on Confederation patterns, the experimental issues of 1785-87, and Post Confederation local issues still need to be written. The site is structured by categories that are roughly in chronological order as follows:

MONEY SUBSTITUTES

Commodity Money
Wampum

COINS PRODUCED IN THE COLONIES TO 1750

Massachusetts Silver 1652-82: General Introduction
Chronological List of Documents on the Mint
NE coinage
Willow Tree coinage
Oak Tree Coinage
Pine Tree Coinage
Small Change Coinage of ca. 1700 and Related Coinage Proposals
Gloucester Courthouse Tokens, 1714-15
Higley Coppers 1737, 1739
Proposals to Replace Paper Currency with Coinage, 1715-48

COINS IMPORTED INTO OR RELATED TO THE COLONIES TO 1750

Sommer Islands "Hogge Money" (1615-16)
Lord Baltimore Coinage (1658-59)
St. Patrick Coppers (1674-75, to America in 1681)
American Plantations Token (1688)
New Yorke in America Token (between 1668 and 1673)
Elephant Tokens 1694
Rosa Americana Coppers 1722-24
Hibernia Coppers 1722-24

SPANISH COINAGE CIRCULATING IN THE COLONIES

Spanish Silver
Pre-Cobs (Charles and Johanna Silver 1536-72)
Colonial Cobs 1572-1773
Milled Coinage 1732-1821
Spanish Gold

DUTCH COINAGE CIRCULATING IN THE COLONIES

New Netherland and its Money
The Lion Dollar
The Silver Rider and Rix Dollar

BRITISH COINAGE CIRCULATING IN THE COLONIES

Seventeenth Century Patent Farthings and Trade Tokens
Regal British Coppers
Copper Farthings
Copper Halfpence
Well Worn Coppers
Regal Irish Coppers
Counterfeit Coppers
Methods of Casting Counterfeit Coppers
British Silver

FRENCH ISSUES FOR NEW WORLD COLONIES

French issues in Canada and Louisiana

LATE COLONIAL COPERS

Voce Populi Copper 1760
William Pitt Token 1766
Virginia Halfpenny 1773

REVOLUTIONARY WAR ERA COINAGE

Continental Currency "Dollar" 1776
State Patterns for MA and NH 1776
Rhode Island Ship Token 1779

THE AMERICAN COINS OF 1783

John Chalmer's Coinage 1783
Nova Constellatio Pattern Units 1783
The Morris Decimal Coinage Proposal
The Jefferson Decimal Coinage Proposal

CONFEDERATION ERA PRIVATE COPERS 1785-87

Constellatio Nova Coppers 1783, 1785
Bar Copper 1785
Auctori Plebis Token 1787
Immunis Columbia Copper 1787

REPUBLIC and STATE COPERS

Vermont 1785-88
Connecticut 1785-88
New Jersey 1786-90
Massachusetts 1787-88

FEDERAL CONTRACT COPERS 1787

Fugio Cents

NEW YORK PRIVATE ISSUES 1786-87

Non Vi Virtute Vici Copper 1786
Excelsior Copper 1787
Nova Eborac Copper 1787
Brasher's Doubloons 1787
Thomas Machin's Patterns 1787

IMITATION BRITISH COPPERS MADE IN NORTH AMERICA

Imitation British Halfpence: General Introduction
New York City Imitation British Halfpence
Machin's Mills Imitation British Halfpence
Unattributed Imitation British Halfpence
James Falconer Atlee and Confederation Era Coppers
Blacksmith Coppers

BRITISH WEST INDIES COPPERS

Barbados 1788, 1792
Bermuda 1793
Bahamas 1806

POST CONFEDERATION LOCAL ISSUES

Spanish Florida 1760, 1789
Standish Barry, Baltimore Town Threepence 1790
Albany Church Penny 1790

POST CONFEDERATION IMPORTS

Kentucky Token 1792
Talbot, Allum and Lee Cents 1794-95
Franklin Press Token 1794
Castorland demi écus "Half Dollar" 1796
Myddelton Kentucky Pattern Halfpenny 1796
Theatre at New York Token Penny (1797 or 98)
North American Token (ca. 1817-19)
Mott Token (backdated)

WASHINGTON TOKENS

Georgius Triumpho Copper 1783
Washington the Great Token (ugly head) 1784
Washington - Eagle Cents 1791
American Armies Coppers 1792
Roman Head Cent 1792
Getz Half Dollar Pattern 1792
North Wales Token (ca. 1792)
Ship Halfpenny 1793
Liverpool Halfpenny (1793)
Liberty and Security Tokens 1795
Grate Halfpenny 1795
Repub. Ameri. Penny Token 1796, 1799
Military Bust Tokens (ca. 1820)
Double Head Tokens (ca. 1820)
Draped Bust Tokens (ca. 1820)
Unity States Cent (ca. 1820)
Success Token

US MINT PROVISIONAL ISSUES OF 1792

Silver Centered Cent
Birch Cent
Half Disme
Disme
Quarter Dollar

Each coin type begins with an introductory discussion summarizing current scholarship and listing some basic bibliography for further reading. These introductions range from two pages to about twenty pages in length and currently cover over 400 pages when printed out. It is hoped these essays will provide assistance to the novice as a quick and easy way to find a summary on a specific coin type and will help the specialist review those topics that are tangential to his/her collecting and research interests. A few portions of the text, such as the chronology of the Massachusetts mint and the commentary section in the Atlee essay, may appear in print in future *CNL* issues.

Several individuals have made comments, pointed out corrections or suggested improvements to the texts. Phil Mossman has read over most of the introductions and sent a list of typos and corrections. Others have made suggestions on specific points. I always welcome comments and have made every effort to credit those who have made a contribution. General credits are listed in the Introduction to the work while credits on a specific topic are mentioned at the point of use in the text. As this is on ongoing work, information is regularly revised and updated. At Phil's suggestion I have started adding the date of the most recent update at the bottom of each introduction. Once enough sections are dated I shall include the dates in the contents section to make it easier to quickly discover which sections have been recently changed.

Following each introduction is an illustrated coin catalog. Each coin has an entry identifying the variety, the coin dimension in millimeters, the weight in both grains and grams and, for some issues, includes the reverse die alignment. All legends are transcribed followed by a brief description focusing on the rationale for a specific attribution. Nothing is mentioned about the controversial subject of grading, although unusual features including imperfections and die breaks are usually reported. Finally, the provenance of the item is given when known.

Currently there are just under three hundred coins on the site, with examples of almost every coin type represented (although some reproductions or electrotypes are clearly labeled as such). Some of the more significant items in the collection are a very well preserved Oak Tree Noe 1, a well worn Higley copper, five Spanish gold ingots dated 1659, a Continental Currency "Dollar," a 1784 imitation British halfpenny (Vlack 14-84A) and a 1792 half disme with pre- and post-restoration photographs. In the Confederation copper section are several varieties of VT, CT, NJ, MA, and Fugio coppers as well as some imitation halfpence varieties.

Recently Jim Spilman and the Colonial Newsletter Foundation have agreed to take on the task of image coordination for the site. Through Jim, the CNLF has offered scans of coin images in their photo archive and through John Lorenzo, the Colonial Coin Collector's Club has graciously made the same offer. With Jim's help I hope to be able to take advantage of both offers and add several hundred new varieties to the site as time permits. Due to copyright restrictions, I have not scanned images from recent books or catalogs, thus I have been restricted from adding images other than those in the Notre Dame collection. With the cooperation and assistance of others, both with scanning and with cataloging, I would like to add as many varieties as possible and make the site as useful to the academic and numismatic communities as possible.

Most people will be attracted to the site for the images. Currently we offer three different sized images for each side of every coin on the site as well as images of all lettered edges. For a relatively quick loading time we use 100 dpi as the default; this is slightly larger than life size and automatically comes up with the catalog entry. We then offer options for larger 250 and 500 dpi images (the 500 being four times as large as the 250), that have a longer loading time but allow one to see greatly magnified details. By only adjusting the dpi all the images are proportional, thus one can have an impression of the relative size of the coins. These images can be downloaded

for future study. For those wishing to view some 500 dpi images, but without a specific variety in mind, I would suggest some of the more intricately designed coins such as the reverse of the Pitt token or the obverse of the Vermont landscape coppers.



1786 Vermont Landscape Copper RR-6, Bressett 4-D

This is a typical image from the Confederation Copper section. When viewing the 250 or 500 dpi computer images, the recut U in PUBLICA is easily visible. This, slightly off center example, predates the late die crack that developed between the 7 and 8 in the date.

(Shown actual size, scanned at 500 dpi.)

A few words are included on image quality for those with a basic knowledge of computers. Before we could mount the site we needed to have realistic images that could be used for research. For this purpose we had to develop scanning techniques that allowed us to make accurate high quality color images directly from the coins. Our scanning specifications are discussed in the viewing tips section of the introduction to the project. Another problem we faced was that each computer has different monitor settings and there seemed no way to assure any specific monitor would reproduce colors in

the same way we saw them on our screen when creating the original scan. There do not appear to be any standards in this area; it seems factory settings for monitors differ by company and model and most individuals do not take the time to refine them much less recalibrate them on a periodic basis. To remedy that problem in our viewing tips section, we included a scanned image of a Kodak Color Separation Guide Q 13, which is a color wheel (actually color control strip). We were able to adjust the scan of the strip so that it closely represents the actual colors on the strip when the image and the strip are compared. Those wishing to recreate our settings and be assured of seeing the coins in their true lifelike color, can do so by simply purchasing a Kodak Color Separation Guide at a photo shop. Then, by holding the Guide next to their monitors, adjust the monitor until the scanned image of the Guide in our viewing tips section matches the colors on the Kodak Color Separation Guide held adjacent to the screen by the viewer. To further assist with downloading, all images are named by the coin designation, such as: NJ-Maris-54-k.obv.jpg or Voce-Zel-2-A.rev.jpg rather than by some inventory number, so that all image files can be easily identified at a later date.

In addition to the standard navigational method of following hot links, one can also search the site by way of a database. At the bottom of each page there is a large red search button that takes the viewer to a search form. In the simple search mode, one may choose to quickly search the entire database, may limit the search to either the introductions or catalog entries, or may select both options. The full content of any page containing the searched word will appear with the search term in bold. This search program is quick and accurate. The database is automatically updated each evening directly from the web pages so it will include all recent corrections. We are in the process of making further improvements to the searching feature. The "advanced" option is currently not working well. It is on a rather slow server and is based on a filemaker pro database that needs to be manually updated. We have not had time to update or correct this database so it does not include all the coins and may contain some errors corrected on the web site. However, this database allows one to limit the search to specific fields, such as coin weight, and returns individual catalog entries rather than the entire page. Hopefully we will be able to update this database and mount it on a faster server in the coming year.

The site includes a copyright statement about the text and images on the site. All images can be easily downloaded for personal use but publication of the images (on the web or in print) will require permission of the owner of the scan. Currently almost all images are from the Notre Dame collection and we freely grant permission for non-profit scholarly publication of the images. Eventually the site will have several images from the CNLF, C4, and possibly other organizations; permission to publish images owned by others will need to be obtained from those organizations. Currently we have the CNLF photo of the Nova Constellatio five unit copper on the site as an example. Also, anyone can print out or download the text for their personal use but the copyright resides with the author (or the contributor for sections written by others) and permission is required for either redistribution or republication of the material on the web or in print.

Colonial Currency

Our other site is simply called *Colonial Currency* although it includes Confederation era notes as well as some lottery tickets and fiscal papers from the period. Currently there are 393 examples of paper currency from 166 different emissions. Some highlights of the collection are the Massachusetts Paul Revere issues including a soldier note (May 25, 1775), some "sword-in-hand" notes, including a counterfeit 48 shillings example of the November 17, 1776 issue (where the Magna Charta is replaced by the Declaration of Independence), and a \$16 note from the Maryland propaganda woodcut issue of July 26, 1775. See Figure 2. There are also several Benjamin Franklin issues, some complete emissions and an uncut sheet from Rhode Island. In the lottery section is a ticket from the first government sponsored colonial lottery, the Massachusetts lottery of 1744/5.

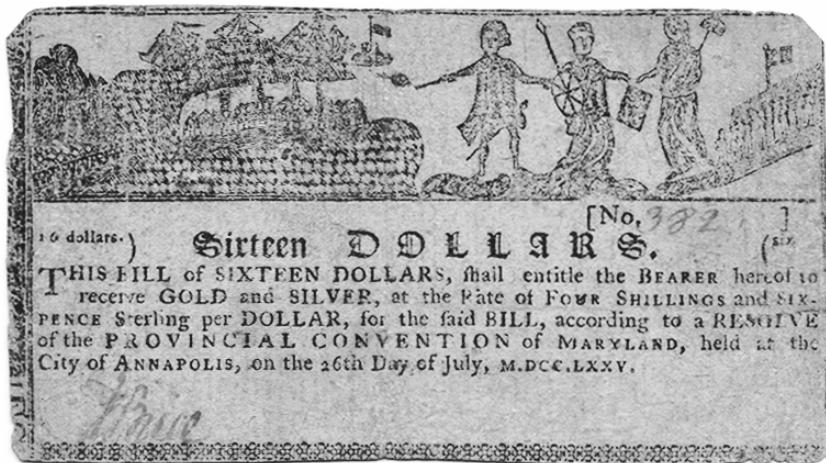
The Currency site contains two parts, one section consisting of a series of introductory essays explaining basic information on colonial currency. There is an essay on the first colonial emission, that is, the Massachusetts issue of December 10, 1690, as well as essays on the land bank system, bills of credit, the relative value of money in colonial America, and other topics useful for those interested in currency, including the coppers panic and related small change emissions. The 1744 Massachusetts lottery ticket section has a detailed discussion of that lottery based on contemporary sources.

The other portion of the site contains the illustrated catalog. This is arranged by colony in alphabetical order starting with Connecticut. In addition to the thirteen colonies, issues from Louisiana, Vermont, and the Continental Congress are included. Emissions are listed chronologically under the colony, and following a brief introduction, each emission is followed by catalog entries for the individual notes on the site.

Color images of the front and back of each note automatically appear as part of the catalog, these images having been uniformly reduced to 85K for faster loading and clickable to produce large size 175 dpi images. The smaller 85K images are made to a uniform file size and, therefore, do not show the proportional variation between the different sizes of notes. However, the larger 175 dpi images are based on dots per inch rather than a uniform file size, therefore they are proportionally sized with smaller notes having proportionally smaller files (and sizes) relative to the larger notes. The 175 dpi images are usually in the 700 to 950K range.

The small 85K images are oriented so that the front of the bill will be correctly positioned for the viewer. In every case the back is displayed as it would appear if the left side of the front of each note were flipped over to display the reverse (so that the left edge of the front becomes the right edge of the back). This was done so the orientation of the back of the bill will be apparent, thus one can determine if the back was printed upside down or sideways in relation to the front.

However, in the larger 175 dpi images both sides of the bills have been oriented so the main image and text is oriented to the viewer for easier study. For notes with a plain unprinted back, I have excluded the small size image of the back. In these cases I was able to provide a larger 150K image (rather than the 85K) of the front and retain about the same loading speed as one encounters with the two sided notes. However, there is still a large 175 dpi image of every blank back, accessed from a clickable hot link in the description of that note. Any handwritten annotations on the blank backs are transcribed in the description.



Sixteen Dollar Bill from the Maryland Emission of July 26, 1775

This is a typical example of a colonial note from the Currency Site. This unusual issue displays pro-American propaganda woodcuts by Thomas Sparrow. To the right is a personification of America holding a liberty cap and handing a petition to Britannia. Behind America is a contingent of Continental troops while behind Britannia is George III torching an American city that is under attack from the British fleet. The issue was printed by Frederick Green in Annapolis.

(Shown actual size, scanned at 175 dpi.)

Following the image is a description of the note. The size of the note is given in millimeters and the serial number and signers are identified. In the comment section additional information is included such as interesting features on the note, an explanation of illustrations and translation of Latin phrases; watermarks on the paper are also noted and transcriptions of any handwritten annotations are provided. Finally, any available provenance information of the note is included.

Some items that are not in our collection have already been added to the site. With the permission of Dana Linett and Ron Guth I have been allowed to include images from the on-line auction catalogs of Early American History Auctions. Those images have been downloaded from their catalog and are usually at 72 dpi. Currently there are about thirty EAHA images, clearly identified in the provenance section of the description. Also, occasionally individuals have donated notes or scans of items for use on the site which we have appropriately credited.

The lottery section contains a small number of Colonial and Confederation era lottery tickets (arranged according to colonial and Continental Congress issues) along with the catalog entry and

a discussion of each represented lottery. The final portion of the site is the fiscal paper, featuring some Massachusetts Treasury certificates from 1780-81, several Connecticut interest certificates from 1790, and a Continental Congress bill of exchange from the Maryland loan office in 1780. We also have some pay vouchers for Revolutionary War soldiers that will be added in the coming months. Each example from the above display is discussed.

As in the coin site one can navigate by following hot links or one can search the site by using the search program accessed through the button at the bottom of each page. The database used by this search is updated each evening.

A technical note on the scans: since paper currency and documents have more surface area and contain more color variations than coins, they require more storage space on the computer obliging me to limit the scans to a maximum of 175 dpi (whereas the coins are at 500 dpi). This was not done to save storage space but rather to increase speed of access by the end user. At 500 dpi most of the coins compress to between 80 and 175K as JPEGs, however at 175 dpi most currency only compresses to 225 to 325K as JPEGs. Even at this level we had to further reduce the size for some very large size notes, such as the Virginia Ashby notes and several of the fiscal papers so they were in the 300K range as compressed JPEGs. For your information, uncompressed images are in the 600 to 1200K range, with some fiscal documents exceeding 2 megs! These lower dpi limits for the currency (as compared to the 500 dpi coins) was imposed so users would not need to endure excessively long downloading times. I understand that when the internet is busy those with slower modems may still encounter load times in excess of two minutes for some of the larger files! My hope is the speed of the internet will increase over the next few years with the upgrading of modems and increased RAM on computers. The price of RAM has dropped dramatically since this project was started. Also, there seem to be more hard wire connections every month as well as a continual upgrading of the internet infrastructure with more lines and connection ports, not to mention Internet II. As improvements appear rapidly in the world of technology I do not want to decrease the image size any further and risk being outdated in a few years.

Washington Tokens

We are currently constructing a site for Washington tokens modeled on the Colonial Coin site. The site is not completely ready to be publicly linked but those wishing to see the work in progress can go to the following URL: <http://www.coins.nd.edu/WashToken>

Just click on the category of interest and that page will appear. There is also a chronological table of contents listing each coin type by name and another listing each coin by Baker number. The images and the related text are available but the dimensions and weights of the items have not been added. All pages are linked but not all of the navigation buttons are functional yet. The site is set up chronologically with the first group of pages taken directly from the colonial coin exhibit. The new material starts at 1800. I am hoping to have this site ready and linked by late spring of 1999. We have also been scanning our U.S. tokens (Hard Times through Civil War) and our Confederate Currency in anticipation of creating sites at a future date for those materials.

Conclusion

The current version of *Coins of Colonial and Early America* was first mounted on December 10, 1997. As of December 31, 1998 the site had 6,954 hits (based on counters on the two versions of the table of contents pages) which calculates to an average of 18 hits per day. The *Colonial Currency* site predates the coin site but, after the coin site was mounted, we changed the location of the currency site. The location change simply means we restructured our computer files so

there would be a separate file system for our numismatic sites, creating a change in the currency site URL. The current version of our *Colonial Currency* site was mounted on February 1, 1998 and since that date has had 9,047 hits as of December 31, 1998 (based on a counter on the contents page) which calculates to 27 hits per day. Between the two sites I receive about ten to twelve e-mails per week from individuals interested in colonial numismatics. Although most queries are from America or Canada, I have had e-mails on colonial numismatics from several European countries, especially England and Spain but also from as far away as Russia and Taiwan! The sites have also been used by several teachers from grade school through college to assist with American history classes. Students in American Studies at Notre Dame have had to use the sites in their classes and once a question for a take-home final was based on the site. Also, several coins clubs have written to let me know the sites had been featured at one of their meetings.

At the November C4 convention in Boston several individuals expressed an interest in, and mentioned a willingness to lend photographs or assist with cataloging a specific section of the sites in which they have expertise. With the assistance of Jim Spilman and the cooperation of the CNLF and C4 as well as members of the numismatic community, these sites hold great promise for the future. **CNL**

The Research Forum REVISITED (Part I)

by
James C. Spilman, Editor Emeritus

When Ye Editor took over the management and publication of *The Colonial Newsletter (CNL)* several generations ago – in August 1963 to be specific – he initiated the Research Forum (RF) as one of several special new features that would appear in *CNL*. Submissions to the forum were categorized with an alpha-numeric designator, such as RF-1, RF-2, etc. and replies were identified with this designator to facilitate indexing and future computerized searching.

Surprisingly, after all of the elapsed time – more than thirty years – many of these early questions have not elicited a single reply or comment! Inasmuch as a significant number of present day *CNL* Patrons were not even born when these earlier queries were published, it seemed reasonable to bring them to current attention and to suggest that all of them be looked over in the light of new information that has developed over recent years.

Many responses to these Research Forum questions have been received and published over the years, and additional new questions as well, from our Patrons. It has served as an excellent tool for obtaining data for our Patrons and has generated many major articles on the subject of early American numismatics.

The major objective of this present discussion is to stimulate new interest in the Research Forum and to specifically request new questions and replies from our Patrons. Remember also that all Research Forum questions are published anonymously; replies, however, are identified. So don't hesitate to submit your questions even if you believe it may be a stupid question – keep in mind that the only really stupid question is the unasked question!

If you want to open a new subject and also identify yourself to our Patrons, please direct your question to our "Ask the Editors" category.

A new group of Research Forum questions is presented at the conclusion of this discussion. Each of these new questions is more lengthy than most of the original sixty nine questions. Apparently the inclusion of some background data has become appropriate as our knowledge of early American numismatics has increased over the years.

In the interest of historical context we will review the two earliest inquiry groups to the Research Forum. The original introduction to the Research Forum (CNL-9, Sequential Page 66) is as follows:

RESEARCH FORUM

Two of the major roadblocks to researchers in the field of Colonial Numismatics are the difficulties associated with identification of original sources of data and obtaining details regarding scarce specimens. Progress is often made, at best, in a frustratingly slow and unsatisfactory manner.

The purpose of the Research Forum, which will become a regular feature of *The Colonial Newsletter*, is to present the research problems of our readers in the hope of eliciting the desired information from the personal notes or cabinets of other researchers or collectors.

As requests are received they will be assigned an identification number and published. Replies will be compiled by the editor and summarized or published in full as seems appropriate.

In some cases our readers may desire to communicate directly for a more detailed interchange of ideas than could be handled conveniently through this column. In such cases, and where this is mutually acceptable, the parties will be privately identified to each other by the editor. *Unless specifically requested, the names of contributors to Research Forum will not be published.* (Emphasis added).

Our initial group of inquiries is as follows:

RF-1 Has anyone seen the Mott token with lettered edge?

RF-2 What is the source of the name “Juan Bermudez” ascribed to a ship’s captain, or of a ship named “Bermudas”? They have long been found in the Guide Book. Where did its compilers get either name?

RF-3 Several years ago The Bank of New York published a pamphlet discussing the terminal history of the Fugio Cents. Who did the research for this pamphlet and what were the sources of the information?

RF-4 What edge is on the silver “Kentucky” token?

RF-5 How many collectors have specimens of varieties 1-A, 2-B, 3-C and 6-F of the tin farthings of 1688 reading “1/24 Part Real”?

RF-6 Crosby Fugio obverse #4 (rays of the glory extending into the thirteen rings) is reported in gold, silver and copper (electro). Can these specimens, or photographs, be made available for examination?

This was followed in the next issue (CNL-10, Sequential Page 73) with a second set of questions:

RESEARCH FORUM

We continue in this issue the listing of research questions submitted by our readers. Scattered replies and comments have been received regarding the initial items published in the August 1963 issue; however, a great many more are required to make the Research Forum a worthwhile feature.

Our current list of requests is the following:

RF-7 Has anyone actually seen a Rhode Island 1778-79 piece with “vlugtende” below the ship?

RF-8 And how about the ornamented edge 1787 IMMUNIS - has anyone seen this piece? Are photographs or first hand descriptions available for study?

RF-9 What are the initials T.W.I. and E.S. that appear on the reverse of the Washington Military Bust; to whom do they belong and what verification is there to back this up?

RF-10 *Coin World* of March 29, 1963 on page 43 notes in an article by Russell Rulau that Woodward stated that Mott Tokens dated 1789 were restruck on both thick and thin planchets. Is this report correct; if so, how are they told apart ?

RF-11 A 1792 Peter Getz half dollar in silver, overstruck on a French écu, brought \$57 in the Bogert Sale (Augustus B. Sage, Feb. 1859). Where is it now?

RF-12 Is it possible to obtain for examination the Mark Newby halfpenny with large GREX cut over small GREX ? A photograph would be helpful if the owner is unwilling to loan the coin itself.

And so the tabulation has continued until the present time when RF-69 was published on page 1635 in CNL-102. A complete index of Research Forum questions is located in the recently published Cumulative Index of *CNL* issues 1-106 which was distributed to our Patrons as a supplement to CNL-107. For your convenience, the tabulation of these RF Forum questions from this index is presented in Appendix A*.

RF entries in the index contain a series of page numbers that represent, first, the page where the original question appeared, and, secondly, the subsequent page numbers where replies or discussions of the questions are located. If there have been no replies, then, of course, only a single page number appears and this serves as a quick check regarding replies. The presence of a reply does not indicate, however, that the question is settled – only that an input has been received.

This scheme of including an alpha-numeric designator was continued for other categories in *CNL*. These, today, in addition to RF-xx, include the Technical Notes (TN-xx), Gleanings (G-xx), Conjecture and Speculation (CS-xx), Between the Pages (BP-xx), Ask the Editors (AE-xx) and so on. This methodology is unique to *CNL* and is cross-referenced within the index titles, so when electronically searching the ANS website NIP ("Numismatic Indexes of Periodicals" of the Harry Bass Research Foundation) it is only necessary to request a search, for example, for TN-116 or for RF-22, and all the appropriate references with page numbers will pop right up on the screen. It is not even necessary to mention *CNL*!

Title or subject searches will reveal the designators for most *CNL* material. The full *CNL* index, as published in the printed copy, is incorporated into the ANS/NIP website version. The NIP search engine can be located by working down through the menu at the ANS website:

<http://www.AmNumSoc2.org/>

OR, for those straight thinking Patrons with nimble fingers, go directly to the search page at:

<http://www.hbrf.org/cgi-bin/usr/local/morph3/bin/texis/nip>

Of these twelve initial Research Forum questions three have received no reply or comment. These three are RF-1, RF-11 and RF-12. Look them over, above, and see if any of you can come up with today's answer to these three puzzlers. A quick check of the Cumulative Index reveals some 33 additional RF questions that remain unanswered. The progress of two of these have been exceptionally interesting to ye Editor. One of these additional unanswered questions, RF-51, "What was the Coentie's-Club of New York?", has always intrigued ye Editor because of its

* See page 1938.

significance and because we thought it should have been an easy question. Another later question that really piqued ye Editor's curiosity was RF-21, "Who was H.N.Rust?" In this instance there have been eleven replies. In future RF REVISITED articles, ye Editor will discuss the progress on each of these questions, and some others as well.

Now, keep in mind that *CNL* is by intent as well as name a "newsletter" and is designed to bring new discoveries to the attention of our Patrons as well as answers to questions, plus major numismatic articles and papers. It is YOUR newsletter and continued success depends on your input and participation with the editors. So, let's hear from all you folk out there!

And again – remember – all input questions to ***The Research Forum*** will be published anonymously. If you want your name included then present your letter to the ***Ask the Editors Forum***.

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NEW RF QUESTIONS

RF-70: Counterfeit Massachusetts Cents

The Massachusetts photographic plates published by Phil Greco list 1787 1-B, 5-I, 7-H and 1788 14-J as counterfeit cents. I have not been able to find out when, and by whom, this assessment was first made except for Crosby as noted below. The conclusion that these four are counterfeit seems to be uncritically accepted.

Crosby (*Early Coins of America . . .*) on page 250 noted that 1-B has letters entirely different from all the other Massachusetts varieties. The coin is always lightweight and more commonly appears as the undertype of 1788 Connecticut Miller 1788 16.3-N. I think that this combination of factors would support the concept that it is a contemporaneous counterfeit.

Regarding the other three, the indications that they are forgeries is much softer. Although the letters are different, the devices do not vary significantly from the Jacob Perkins and Joseph Callender varieties. It has been noted by Richard August (1997 C4 Convention) that all these 1787 date punches match the Machin's Mills 87C reverse. All are very rare, and some may be heavier than the authorized weight.

It is also known that letter and number punches, made from common matrices, were commercially available and so cannot be taken as absolute evidence indicating any particular mint. To make a counterfeit heavier than the required weight of the legal coin would be counterproductive. Acknowledging that these three other varieties have different legends, but rather than to condemn them all as counterfeit from some clandestine operation, why is it not just as possible that these different varieties were products of the legal Massachusetts mint but punched from a different set of letter and number fonts?

RF-71: Hibernia and Voce Populi Coppers in America

Breen on page 36 of his *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* states that VOCE POPULI coppers "have turned up in non-collector accumulations datable to the early 1770s, along with Birmingham counterfeit halfpence of George II and III, though not in post-Revolutionary groups." A similar statement is made (page 27) regarding Wood's HIBERNIA coppers that they have turned up in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Has anyone had any personal experience, or seen any independent documentation (other than W. C. Prime) that can confirm these observations?

RF-72: Fugio Die Axis Varieties

The ANS has a Fugio cent of Newman 15-K variety which is struck on medal turn (12 o'clock), rather than coin turn (6 o'clock). There is a strong die clash on the reverse too, and the die clash has medal turn orientation. Are other die axis varieties known? Does this variety always come medal turn, or is it also known coin turn?

RF-73: Fugio Striking Errors

The Bank of New York donation to the ANS of Fugio cents from the hoard seems to be unusually strong in errors - die clashes, defective planchets, and a famous brockage of reverse die X. Is it other researchers' impression that errors are more common among Fugio cents from the hoard?

Consider this possible scenario: When Fugio cents were manufactured, as errors come off the press, they were thrown aside in a keg in preparation for eventual re-melting. Then the coppers panic comes, and it becomes impossible to get rid of the good Fugios, too. Royal Flint defaults, the Bank of New York forecloses, and the keg ends up in the Bank of New York. So the Bank of New York receives a keg of the errors, plus whatever was in stock when the panic came. If errors are just as common among the non-hoard varieties, then this theory would not hold up.

RF-74: Obverse vs. Reverse Brockage

Researchers in ancient coins hold that obverse brockages are much more common than reverse brockages. The obverse is the lower die; it is easier to overlook a coin sticking to the upper die, than a coin sticking to the lower die. Does this hold true in the colonial and Confederation periods? Taxay, in the 1976 Scott Catalogue, says that early date large cent brockages are almost entirely obverses.

I was at one point shown a collection of counterfeit halfpence errors, with a huge number of brockages, and as I remember the split between obverse and reverse was fairly even. On the other hand, it was assembled by a specialist who has such a nose for rarities, that his collection turns the principles of rare and common topsy-turvy.

RF-75: Ford-Hodder Numbers for the Auctori Plebis Tokens

Rosa Americana Fixed Price List 13, lots 410-412, uses Ford-Hodder numbers for the Auctori Plebis tokens. Where has this numbering system been published?

RF-76: Some Thoughts Suggested by Tony Carlotto's Fine Work on Vermont Coppers

Tony Carlotto made a good point when he brought up the problem of the backwards numeral 1. This occurs on other, related series, such as counterfeit two reales, although they are not a product of the Confederation period but probably date to the early Federal period. What is interesting about the backwards 1 is that, given that some typefounders (Jacob Bay, Abel Buell) also raised coin puncheons, this is an easy mistake to make if you are used to preparing punches for type matrices. In letterpress printing, the numeral one is wrong reading raised, right reading incuse; on coin punches and dies, the numeral one must be right reading raised, wrong reading incuse. This problem only emerges if the character is asymmetrical along both horizontal and vertical axes; characters which have symmetry along the horizontal axis (such as the letter E) or along the vertical axis (such as the letter V) can always be shifted around if they are cut the wrong way. The problem letters are: F G L N P Q R S Z; the problem numerals: 1 2 4 5 6 7 9; a problem character: &. Some are easier to get wrong than others, e.g. 1, N, and S.

There surely there are other examples of backwards punches in the Confederation series – perhaps readers could send in other examples?

Additionally, was the same punch used for 6 and 9?

RF-77: Device Punches in Confederation Coinages

I believe Eric Newman, in his 1958 article, was the first to point out the use of device punches in the Confederation coinages. Which coinages are now generally agreed to have been made using device punches, and which not? What is odd about this is that the coiners of state coppers were more advanced in their technology in 1786 than the US mint would be in 1793. One step forward, two steps back.

RF-78: Plain Edge 1797 Washington Getz Masonic Medal in Silver

Has anyone seen the 1797 Washington Getz Masonic medal, Baker-288 in silver, with the plain edge? Baker said there was one in Bushnell.

RF-79: Massachusetts Silver Striking Sequence

The commonly accepted sequence of striking the Massachusetts silver coins is NE followed by Willow, Oak, and then Pine types. I think we all agree that NE's were first and small planchet Pines were last, the direction of technological change suggests that. Did Oaks necessarily have to precede large planchet Pines? There's nothing in their methods of manufacture that militates for this, nor does their typology demand this sequence. Could some NE's have been struck at the same time Oaks were? The Willows look to me like they were struck on a drop press, which was, at the time, state of the art. The inevitable bouncing of the hammer would account for the apparent misstriking seen on the coins better than Noe's theory of unsecured dies.

RF-80: Machin's Counterfeit Coppers

We all agree that Thomas Machin and company struck Vermont coppers under sub-contract with Reuben Harmon. The extant documents tell us that. Does anyone have any HARD NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE to support the common belief that Machin's group also made counterfeit coppers?

RF-81: "Money Digging"

Is there an obvious connection between "money digging" and counterfeiting in the late 18th and early 19th centuries? Are the same people involved in both speculations?

RF-82: 1787 Fugio Cent with Different Reverse

I own a Fugio Cent of 1787 that has a different reverse than do most of the Fugios. Instead of the thirteen interlocked rings with "we are one" this has words that read: "THE/FOUNDER'S/ISOLATIONISM/DEVELOPED U.S./FOR IT IS A/BASIC LAW/OF LIFE"

What kind of Fugio is this? Is it a real Fugio, a counterfeit, a token, or what?

RF-83: Friends of Liberty and Trade

Both the 1766 dated Pitt farthing and halfpenny tokens use the legend "THANKS TO THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY" on their reverses. It is believed that these tokens were issued to commemorate the repeal of the Stamp Act on March 18, 1766, which was brought about mainly by the efforts of William Pitt. The reverse legend has lead some to claim that the tokens were commissioned by the Friends of Liberty and Trade. Very little seems to be known about this early New York City organization. What has been published states that the Friends of Liberty and Trade represented business and property in the city and were not as radical as the Sons of Liberty. Also, in 1770 at Montagnie's Tavern in celebration of the repeal of the Stamp Act, they toasted "Trade and navigation and a speedy removal of their embarrassments."

Does anyone know more about the Friends of Liberty and Trade, such as the names of their leaders and more about their actions and beliefs? Also, does there exist primary source information that shows that they did indeed commission these tokens?

RF-84: Marinus Willett's Copper Coinage Memorial

The following note is found at the bottom of page 849 of Volume 29 of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*.

"Committee Book #190, a memorial from Marinus Willett on copper coinage was referred to the Board of Treasury. October 26, 1785"

Marinus Willett (1740-1830), from the Colony and State of New York, was one of the truly outstanding American leaders of the American Revolution. During the period in which the preceding memorial was referred to the Board of Treasury, he was sheriff of New York City and County.

Does anyone have information concerning the content of Willett's memorial on copper coinage?

RF-85: Paul Revere's Dies for Medals and Coins

Written on page 12 of Clarence Brigham's book, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, is found the following:

"The second volume of the Day Book begins in January, 1784, when Revere took his son Paul in with him, with a careful record of every amount which each took from the business. This volume takes 176 pages and continues to September 25, 1797. There are many charges for work in gold and silver, engraved prints, dies for medals and coins, and frequently Masonic jewels."

Has anyone researched Revere's second Day Book volume and transcribed the information contained therein on "dies for medals and coins?" A microfilm copy of this day book is available at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. There is no index.

RF-86: The NAGY Plate

There appears in Roger Moore's interesting article, "Edward Maris, M.D. – Numismatist," (CNL-107, Page 1733), a photograph (Figure 4) of "One of two known zinc plates holding electrotypes of New Jersey copper varieties that Edward Maris, M.D., used to make the photographic plate for his classic book on New Jersey copper coins." Close examination of the photograph suggests that this is NOT the plate that appears in Dr. Maris' book but is the other of the "two known zinc plates" – the one known as the Nagy Plate.

Can someone explain why there were two plates, and where today is the true Maris Plate, plus any other pertinent information regarding these plates?

RF-87: James Atlee, Albion Cox & Thomas Goadsby

The late Damon G. Douglas published an article in the July, 1945 issue of *The Numismatist* entitled "The First United States Indian Chief Peace Medal." In this article are several fascinating comments regarding personages known quite well to collectors and researchers of the Early American Coinages.

First – Thomas Goadsby requests payment (read May 8, 1788) from Congress for "furnishing two Dyes (at a stipulated price) for the purpose of Striking medals for the Savages" Goadsby had the dies executed and submitted them to the Board of Treasury, and in his memorial states that he has enclosed a proof medal from those dies.

Second – Congress refused payment to Goadsby because "the agreement referred to in the Memorial was made by the Board with Mr. Albion Cox, late of this city; in his own person; and as the Board conceived in his own behalf."

And finally – in a later discussion Douglas comments that "James F. Atlee, die sinker later for the Machin's Mills coinage, had established some kind of business relationship with Albion Cox as evidenced by their joint legal actions in the New York Mayor's Court in 1786"

Can anyone sort out the apparent business relationships mentioned by Douglas and, hopefully, their involvement with the "The First United States Indian Chief Peace Medal?"

RF-88: James Atlee and Machin's Mills

In RF-87 (above) Douglas mentions that James Atlee was a die sinker for the Machin's Mills coinage. In listening to discussions between present day numismatic researchers, a few dispute that Atlee had any die sinking experience.

Will someone explain how and why Atlee is considered (other than by Douglas) to be the die sinker for the Machin's Mills operation?



Appendix A

Current Cumulative Index Tabulation of Research Forum Questions:

Introduction 66

Tacit Knowledge and the Research Forum 369

RF-1 Mott Token with Lettered Edge 66

RF-2 Juan Bermudez and a Ship Named Bermudas 66, 136

RF-3 Fugio Pamphlet - Bank of New York 66, 195

RF-4 Edge on Silver Kentucky Token 66, 224

RF-5 Tin Farthings of 1688 — 1/24 Part Real 66, 224

RF-6 Fugio Obverse - Crosby #4 66, 254

RF-7 Rhode Island 1778-9 with Vlugtende 73, 254

RF-8 Immunis - 1787 - Ornamented Edge 73, 225

RF-9 Washington Military Bust, Initials TWI & ES 73, 112

RF-10 Mott Tokens, Thick and Thin Planchets 73, 224

RF-11 Peter Getz 1792 Half Dollar in Silver 73

RF-12 Mark Newby Halfpenny, Large GREX over small GREX 73

RF-13 Connecticut 5.3-B.2 of 1786 (See also RF-26) 119

RF-14 Draped Bust Washington, Silver, Plain Edge 119

RF-15 Washington Gold, Restrike Cents 119

RF-16 Fugio "New Haven" Die Locations 119

RF-17 Connecticut Shilling 162

RF-18 Stell-Vermontis, 1785 193, 203, 308

RF-19 Fugio Hoards 221

RF-20 U.S. 1797 Large Cent Struck Over Mass. Half Cent 221

RF-21 Who Was H.N.Rust? 221, 234, 237, 248, 269, 279, 280, 299, 342, 549, 569, 1021

RF-22 The Fifth Proposal 222, 283

RF-23 Mint Locations, Fugio Cents 254

RF-24 Voce Populi Coinage of 1760 254

RF-25 Summer Islands Twenty Shilling Gold Piece 255

RF-26 Connecticut 5.3-B.2 of 1786 (See also RF-13) 255, 283

RF-27 Danske Americansk 281, 330

RF-28 Dr. Hall's "Later Notes" on Connecticuts 36, 281

RF-29 Fugio 11-A Condition Question 281

RF-30 Unusual Surface Characteristics of Certain Fugio "New Haven" Dies 282

RF-31 Connecticut Coppers Mint Locations 298

RF-32 "New Haven" Fugio "Brass Dies" 298

RF-33 Abel Buell's High Speed Coining Press 298, 353

RF-34 What Are Bungtowns? 298

RF-35 X-Rated Coins 350, 377, 395

RF-36 Connecticut Coppers Overstruck on NJ, 369, 473

RF-37 Did Abel Buell Actually Have a Son Named William? 369, 444, 473, 1151, 1389

RF-38 A Rhode Island Mint? 369

RF-39 Fugio "Rusted Dies" for Variety 13-X 369

RF-40 Fugio 105-FF "New Haven"? 369

RF-41 Die Variety Attribution Techniques 394

RF-42 100th Anniversary of S.S.Crosby's "Early Coins of America," 1973 or 1975? 398

RF-43 Why Were Early American Halfpence Called Coppers? (or Cents?) 398, 416, 471, 456, 457

RF-44 Early Counterfeiting Act of 1700. WHY? 398, 417, 418

RF-45 The Unknown Coinage for Carolina 399, 419, 551

RF-46 The Questionable Coinage of Machin's Mills 399, 421

RF-47 Bushnell's "Numismatic Notes in Manuscript" 399, 452

RF-48 Dies by Atlee 400, 536

RF-49 Nova Constellatio Pattern "Five" 400, 536

RF-50 The Sloop "Newburgh" & the Machin's Mills Coinage Press 400

RF-51 What Was the Coentie's Club of New York? 401

RF-52 Nova Constellatio Coined in Birmingham or Greenwich? 401, 422

RF-53 E Pluribus Unum 441

RF-54 The Numismatic Writings of Daniel E. Groux 435, 441, 535

RF-55 North Carolina Brass 483, 534

RF-56 The 1784 Counterfeit English Halfpence 485

RF-57 What Was the Composition of "Base Metal"? 485

RF-58 Letter Styles on VOCE POPULI Halfpence 532

RF-59 John H. Hickcox's Observations on the Connecticut Mint 591

RF-60 Do Nelson 6 & 7 VOCE POPULI Actually Have Different Obverse Dies? 606

RF-61 What Happened to Lord Baltimore? 610, 625

RF-62 The First Collegiate Medal in America 653, 680, 689, 693

RF-63 Thirteen Linked Rings of Early American Unity 687

RF-64 Did New Jersey Coppers Officially Circulate in 1792? 1152, 1669

RF-65 Maris' New Jersey Book Puzzle 1415

RF-66 Hessian Payments 1415, 1440, 1688

RF-67 Unlisted Betts Muling 1634

RF-68 New Bar Cent Copy? 1635, 1687

RF-69 Gold 1783 Washington Restrike? 1635